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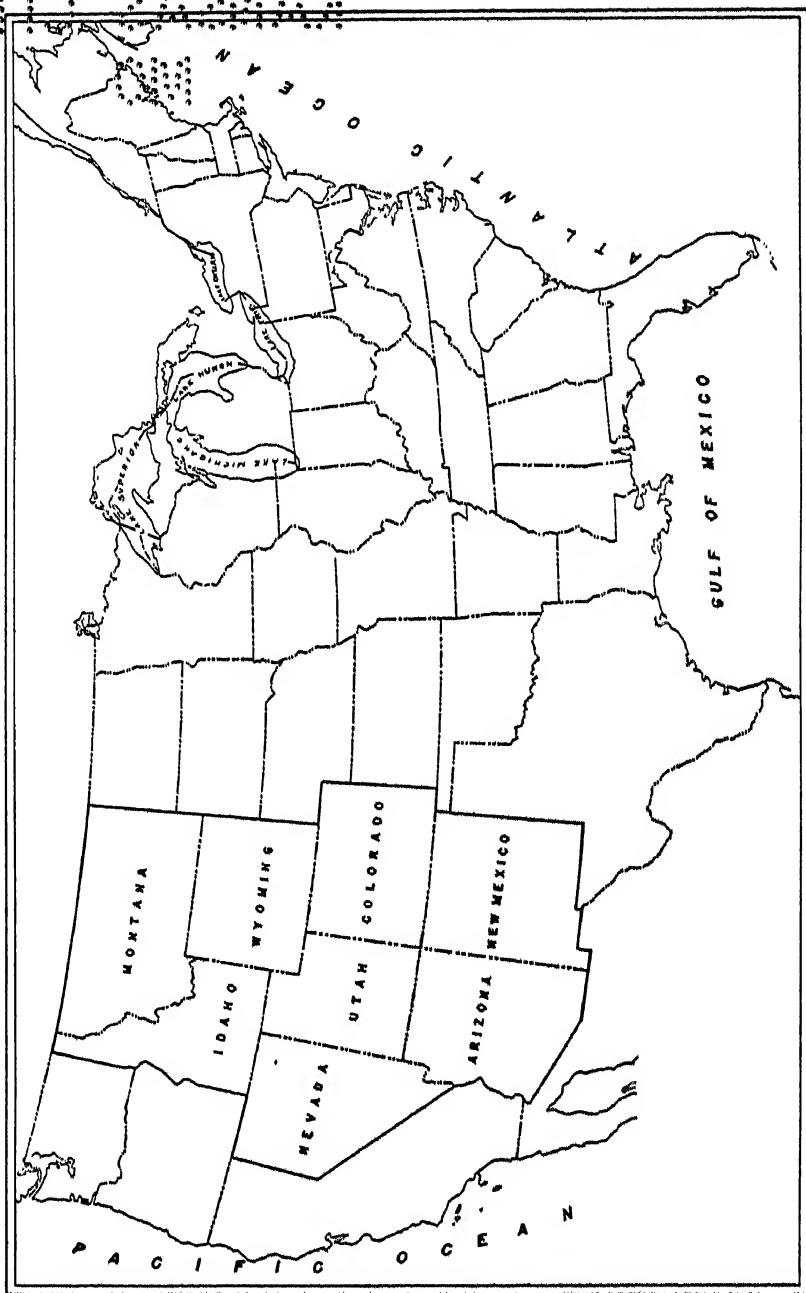
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ROCKY MOUNTAIN STATES

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Rocky Mountain Politics

Edited by

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★ ★ ★

With a Foreword by

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FOREWORD

By A. N. HOLCOMBE

* * *

The Mountain States—a familiar geographic expression, conjuring up a picture of a vast area which tourists delight to explore and which must be crossed to reach the Pacific coast! It is also a convenient expression for census purposes, since these eight states form a block of the right shape for map-making and of the right size for statistical tables. But do they form an economic region with common interests which distinguish it from other regions, or a political section with a well-developed character of its own in national politics?

To the reader with some curiosity about these matters the authors of the following chapters supply a store of fresh and instructive information. But their arrangement of this material in separate lots for each of the eight states suggests that their answers to these questions are in the negative. There are, however, some significant traits which these states possess in common. Altitude is more important than latitude in determining the prevailing climate in all of them. Rainfall is generally low and irrigation is the universal basis of agriculture. Most of the land in each state remains in the possession of the federal government. Finally, the very existence of these states was largely determined by the exigencies of partisan politics at Washington.

The facts relating to the admission of the Mountain States into the Union are well known. Nevada, the first to be admitted, was needed by the Republican party in order that the thirteenth amendment might be passed through Congress before the presidential election of 1864. Montana, Idaho, and Wyoming were admitted, because the Republican party, frustrated in its effort to perpetuate its ascendancy at Washington by Freedmen's votes in the South, sought

F O R E W O R D

compensation by the hasty formation of new states in the West. Again the Republicans were frustrated by an uncompromising demand for free silver and the rise of the Populists. Utah for many years was kept out of the Union, though more populous than several of the Mountain States already admitted, because its politics were under suspicion. The admission of New Mexico and Arizona as separate states was delayed by a feeling at Washington that their prospects of future growth did not justify their formation into more than one state. Several of these states, when admitted, did not possess sufficient population to make up one full-sized congressional district. Two of them do not yet possess such a population. All of them possess boundaries drawn without any regard to the interests of the inhabitants or the convenience of the state governments.

The efforts of the peoples of these states to surmount the artificial difficulties with which inconsiderate politicians at Washington have forced them to contend fill some extraordinarily interesting pages in the history of the West. At this time, when increasing demands upon government at all levels subject the state governments particularly to an unprecedentedly severe test, the record of the governments of the Mountain States deserves very special attention. If the federal system is to preserve its traditional vitality, these states must be able to develop taxable resources commensurate with local needs.

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THE ROCKY MOUNTAIN STATES

By THOMAS C. DONNELLY



INTRODUCTION

This book grew out of the desire of a number of political scientists of the Rocky Mountain states to bring the intermountain region into the ken of observers of American politics and students of political parties. Since no one person knew the whole area intimately enough, it was thought best to have a writer in each of the eight states contribute a study of his state and to combine the studies to complete the survey. Each writer was chosen for his acknowledged familiarity with his state and the forces, political and otherwise, at work in it.¹ The general result, it is hoped, will be to contribute to an understanding of the political problems of this interesting, important, and little understood section of the American political scene.

THE ROCKY MOUNTAIN SCENE

The geographic area dealt with in this book is bounded on the east by the states of Texas, Oklahoma, Kansas, Nebraska, and North and South Dakota; on the north by Canada; on the west by the three Pacific Coast states; and on the south by Mexico. The eight states composing the area constitute a somewhat well-defined geographic area.

This group of states is thought of by some people as part of a vague "West." Montana and Idaho are sometimes

1. In the preparation of the volume each contributor was asked to follow a general outline specifying the principal topics to be discussed. This was done to give the chapters a measure of uniformity. Other than this each writer was given free scope in the treatment of his material. Each of the contributors is now a resident of the state of which he writes with the exception of Dr. Jonas, who, although long a resident of Utah, is now teaching at the University of Southern California. While each of the chapters has been read by a number of people, the writer of each chapter is alone responsible for the conclusions drawn therein.

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bracketed with Oregon and Washington and designated the Northwest, while Arizona and New Mexico are grouped with Oklahoma and Texas and called the Southwest. But from the standpoint of geographic similarity the eight states, here designated the Rocky Mountain states, are very much alike, and resemble each other more than they do the states to the east and west. They are not coastal states, and they are not prairie states. They are inland, rocky mountain states, singularly different as a sectional group from other American states. The general geographic picture of the section is that of a region of not one but numerous mountain ranges, interspaced with vast plateaus of high altitude. Along the eastern side of the block of states, from Canada to Mexico, is a high plains region, a western extension of the great prairies of the Middle West, that lends an element of variety to the general picture.

Though some variety in altitude, climate, and rainfall exists within each state, and from state to state, the entire area is peculiarly alike in these physical matters. The altitude of each of the states is uniformly high, and the average elevation of the whole section is loftier than that of any other American block of states. Montana, with a mean altitude of 3,900 feet, is the lowest of the group, while Colorado, with an average altitude of 6,800 feet, is the highest state of the region, and of the United States. The climate of the region is chiefly determined by the altitude, though the latitudinal location of the states is not without its effect. No section can boast of a more energizing climate for year-around endeavor, and the middle and southern states of the area have long been a mecca for healthseekers.

The percentage of sunshine is nowhere in the nation as high. The uniformly thin, clear air, characteristic of areas of high altitude, is another feature of the region. The average rainfall over the whole area is very low in comparison with that of the more humid states. Precipitation varies within each state with altitude, the loftier regions receiving greater moisture than the lower ones. Water being scarce and needed in a region characterized by aridity, or

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semi-aridity at best, is much sought after. Every water hole in the area has witnessed a struggle for its control, and the division of water from the rivers is a source of endless dispute. In their interest in water conservation programs the eight states are a "bloc."

To get a ready mental grasp of the general nature of the Rocky Mountain region, it is helpful, even though not exactly accurate, to think of it as a vast, new colonial empire, recently added to the continental domain of the United States, potentially rich but, in the present, poor because of its undevelopment. To date, the region is almost altogether a raw-material area. Even the progress of raw material production is in a beginning stage, and future possibilities of increasing production are virtually unlimited. Great difficulties, it is true, are to be overcome before anything approaching maximum utilization of the potential wealth of the region is possible. Production methods will have to be improved and distribution problems will have to be overcome.

Most important of all the obstacles in the way of the Rocky Mountain states is that an economy of scarcity does not encourage the development of their potential resources. For this reason, chiefly, the region is perhaps destined to remain for many years to come a vast, unused storehouse of wealth, awaiting the needs of a future America operating under an economy that seeks to improve the economic welfare of its people through a wider and more adequate distribution of goods than is now possible within the limits imposed by our present economic philosophy. Until their products are more needed by the American economy than at present, these states cannot hope to pay their proper proportion of the annual tax bill.

The amount of federal money received in subsidies and otherwise by each of the Rocky Mountain states in 1939 for each dollar of taxes paid was estimated to be: New Mexico, \$15.00; Idaho, \$8.50; Montana, \$8.00; Wyoming, \$7.30;

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Arizona, \$6.40; Utah, \$2.90; Nevada, \$2.50; Colorado, \$2.00.²

While the estimate may be slightly in error, since such estimates are extremely difficult to make, nevertheless the figures given do at least suggest what is apparently the general situation with regard to federal taxes and expenditures in the area. There can be no doubt that the federal subsidy system operates principally to the advantage of the poorer and less populous states and to the disadvantage of the wealthier and more populous states.

To the people of the Rocky Mountain states, the federal subsidy policy appears only just. They point out in support of the policy the fact that their states were brought into the Union in certain instances prematurely, notably Nevada, to meet the exigencies of national politics. Thus the nation, they feel, owes them an obligation. Secondly, the people of the region claim, and with no little justification, that the federal government owns a very large part of the land of their states, and since such land is not subject to taxation, the national government should return subsidies in lieu of taxes which would be forthcoming if the land were privately owned. Lastly, the argument is made that federal tax collections cannot be taken as an accurate measure of the burden borne by a particular state, or group of states. This is a valid contention. The total amounts received in corporate income taxes from New York and Delaware, for example, can hardly be credited to those states, for the earnings upon which they are levied have been obtained in considerable part in other sections of the country.

THE HUMAN ELEMENT

The sparseness of the population of the Rocky Mountain states contrasts strikingly with the vastness of the area. Although the combined land area of the eight states is 865,017 square miles, the total population of the region was only 3,701,789 in 1930. Thus there are approximately four

2. Estimate prepared by the Editorial Research Bureau, Washington, D. C., for the *Albuquerque Journal*, and published in that paper, February 25, 1940.

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persons to the square mile. The area, though larger than the ten states of the South, has a population only slightly in excess of that of North Carolina. Massachusetts, with a territory not as large as some of the counties of the Rocky Mountain states, has about a half a million more people than the whole region.

As is to be expected, a large majority of the people of these states live in small towns and rural areas. In 1930, there were only twenty-seven cities in the region with a population of 10,000 or more, and only two of these had populations of more than 100,000 (Salt Lake City, 140,267, and Denver 287,861). The census classified the region as, approximately, 40 per cent urban and 60 per cent rural.⁸

All states and nations have contributed to the population, and it is extremely difficult to generalize about the people. The only thing that most of them have in common is that they have only recently come to the region. States immediately to the east of the region have contributed most of the population, especially in recent years.

As in all recently settled regions the ways of life are cosmopolitan. In time the geography of the area will undoubtedly condition somewhat all the groups, but as yet not enough time has elapsed for any noticeable change to have taken place. Tolerance of variety in social habits and customs prevails, and even the small towns of the region are not nearly as suffocating in their social disciplines as they are in older settled areas.

Though each of the states has increased its population somewhat in the past ten years through natural means and inter-state migration, it would seem from the low density of people per square mile that the region is one of the most underpopulated of the United States and of the world. Strange enough, the people of certain of the states in the group do not agree with this view. They feel that, under present conditions, their states have reached a population maximum. More population, these people feel, will result

8. The 1930 census classified all communities of 2,500 or more population as urban.

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in a lower income for the whole group. Such a view is, of course, a short-sighted and pessimistic one, for it only takes into consideration the present economic development of the area and not its potential possibilities. With greater utilization of the natural resources of the Rocky Mountain states, they could sustain several million more inhabitants than they now have. What the region needs most of all is capital for its development and better markets for its products. Were these available its ability to accommodate more people would increase. However, pending the economic development of the area and the improvement of the markets, there is much justification for the view that the region has reached, temporarily at least, a population optimum.

Though the population of the Rocky Mountain states is small, the provision of the federal constitution which allows each state two senators, regardless of population, permits these states a greater importance in the Senate than their numbers would otherwise warrant. However, the small delegation from the area (only fourteen in number) in the House of Representatives counterbalances this arrangement. Neither is the entire vote of the region (thirty electors) in the Electoral College great in number, although in close elections it cannot be ignored as unimportant. However, there can be no question but that the influence of the Rocky Mountain states in determining national policy is not great. The small size of the Congressional delegation from the area, the failure of this delegation to vote as a bloc on most issues, and the small electoral vote of the region all contribute to this result. By and large, national policy is chiefly made by and, very largely, for the richer and more populous states.

ECONOMIC IMPULSES

While aridity, or semi-aridity, characterizes most of the land surface of the Rocky Mountain area, yet there is much of it that is fertile, and where water is available for irrigation, agriculture flourishes. In general, however, the area is primarily suited for pastoral pursuits, and ranching is the basic occupation. The presence of minerals in the geologic

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structure of each of the states gives mining a status of importance second only to ranching. Therefore, it is relatively accurate to characterize the whole region as one devoted primarily to ranching, mining, and irrigated farming. Timbering operations, especially in the northwestern sections, is also of some importance. Little manufacturing is carried on, except in Colorado. The bulk of the raw materials produced in the area are shipped to the states to the east and west for processing. There is little movement of goods within the region. While the area is traversed by many railroads and highways, the principal traffic arteries run east and west, not north and south, and are designed, primarily, to serve national rather than regional needs. The economy of the region is thus geared into that of the nation, although lately a movement challenging the continuance of this arrangement has made its appearance. An increasing number of inter-state trade barriers, designed to keep trade "at home," is the result.

In an endeavor to simplify the economic picture of the Rocky Mountain area, it is easy for one to fall into the error of visualizing the region as one possessing only ranching, mining, and agricultural interests. Such is not the case. It is also a region of numerous small businesses catering to all the manifold wants of the inhabitants and the hundreds of thousands of tourists who visit the area each year to enjoy its scenic beauty and natural wonders. The tourist trade is considered by several of the states their leading "industry" and, in terms of cash income, tourists are of great importance to these states.

To understand the political reactions of the population of the region it is important to realize that while the ranching, mining, and affiliated interests represent the greatest concentration of economic power and political influence, the majority of the people get their living from small farms and the sundry pursuits known as small business. Professional people, doctors, lawyers, governmental employees, persons engaged in transportation, and laborers in the fields and mines are also numerically important and possess a political

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significance. While the basic economic groups in ranching and mining tend to be definitely conservative in their economic and political leanings, the greater portion of the population in the small businesses and professions are left of center. As long as the important industries preserved a measure of well-being for the states of the region, political leadership remained very largely under their control. But with the advent of the depression, and the slackening of the economic pace, people began to look to leadership from Washington. The inauguration of the various large scale New Deal projects in the region has given the small man a very definite realization of the might of the federal government in his life that is destined to color his political thinking for some years to come. Such projects as Boulder Dam, in Nevada, and the various and extensive water and soil conservation projects throughout the eight states have a social significance greater perhaps than their immediate economic value. In a region where nature is so overwhelming and so resistant to the puny efforts of man, the vast power and ability of the national government to cope with difficult problems begets admiration and commands popular support. The occasional inefficiency and high costs of some of the New Deal projects, while condemned by the conservatives of the region, are condoned by the lower income groups who would rather see mistakes made than have projects delayed.

VOTING HABITS

Party ties in the Rocky Mountain states are held very lightly. Voters switch their allegiance to one party and back again with abandon, much to the discomfiture of party leaders. The attachment to personalities is much stronger than the attachment to parties. The small population in each state makes the relationship between leaders and citizens much more personal than in the more densely populated states. Once a leader merits the voluntary support of a body of followers, they seem to remain unusually devoted to him regardless of his record on party issues. The character of the man rather than his party allegiance is the thing that

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registers with the westerner. The long career of Senator William E. Borah of Idaho is illustrative. Once Idaho had taken Borah's measure, it was proud to accept him thereafter on his own terms. "Neither the ebb and flow of party fortunes nor the ever-changing complexion of national and state issues seemed to have any effect upon his popularity with the people," says Professor Chamberlain.⁴ Senator Cutting was gaining a similar hold upon the electorate of New Mexico when an untimely death cut his career short. Senator Wheeler of Montana, and others, might be named in the same category.

In their attitude toward lesser leaders who possess no great moral stature the voters of the region are influenced by a variety of forces. Party organization is a great factor in determining the outcome of elections when the rival candidates have no especial hold on the affections of the people; and here and there, in close elections, campaign funds may prove decisive. Neither are minority groups, stirring issues, and traditional voting habits⁵ without their influence in determining the outcome of all elections. Despite these considerations, however, the outstanding characteristic of the politics of the area is the anemic loyalty of the voters to parties and their contrastingly strong affection for leaders whom they personally respect and trust.

The independence (bi-partisanship) of the voters is particularly evident in state and local elections. In presidential elections the region tends to follow national trends. Since 1912, only one state of the eight (Utah in 1912) has failed to cast its electoral vote for the successful presidential candidate. Under the New Deal, the Democrats have gained considerable strength in the area, though there are signs that certain groups of voters in each of the states are becom-

4. See p. 182.

5. An insight into the traditional voting habits of the Rocky Mountain states can be gained by learning the source of the inter-state migrations into the area. The politics of New Mexico and Arizona, for example, have been much influenced by migrants from Texas and other southern states. The traditional voting habits of the new settlers, however, seem to grow weaker with time. Regional conditions tend to modify them.

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ing restive. The 1940 elections will undoubtedly show the pendulum once more swinging toward the right. Whether it will swing far enough to carry the region in its entirety into the Republican column is extremely doubtful, because the New Deal has generated a considerable momentum that has not entirely spent itself. The liberal spending program of the Democrats has a continuing appeal to this undeveloped region, populated chiefly by persons of low incomes.

ARE THE ROCKY MOUNTAIN STATES A REGION?

For convenience the Rocky Mountain states are frequently referred to in this book as a region or section. Whether in socially scientific terms these states constitute either a region or section is a question perhaps best left to the students of these matters.⁶ From a great many standpoints the eight states of the group are similar as one reading the pages that follow will discover. The purpose of the book, however, is not to argue the claims of the eight states to regional recognition but to bring their politics to the attention of students of political parties. For this group at least, there is much to be gained, as Professor Sait has pointed out, in considering the Rocky Mountain states a fairly, well-defined *party area*. "Party areas," as he says, "reflect better than any alternative arrangement the realities of our political life."⁷

6. See Odum, H. W., and Moore, H. E., *American Regionalism*, New York, 1938.

7. Sait, E. C., *American Parties and Elections*, New York, 1939, pp. 11-12.

Chapter I

UTAH: SAGEBRUSH DEMOCRACY

By FRANK HERMAN JONAS



In the popular mind probably the most significant factor in an analysis of Utah politics is the Mormon Church.¹ Although the importance and influence of the Church in political affairs have declined progressively with accelerated speed since the beginning of territorial days, other phases, in the more or less peculiar cultural pattern, that now color the course of political expression have been affected in turn by doctrine, organization, and leadership of the Church. On the other hand, considerable independence from, but antagonism to, the Church may be found in the development of non-religious and non-Mormon elements that have interacted with politics. After historical issues, cultural and environmental aspects, and formal organizational features have been considered chiefly by way of background, the attempt will be made to evaluate and relate the various personal and social forces in the dynamic political scene.

THE ISSUE OF CHURCH VERSUS ANTI-CHURCH

From 1847 to 1896 a single issue, Church versus anti-Church, dominated the political arena. The conflict was bitter; clashes were numerous; sides were sharply drawn and irreconcilable until the Church gave in to anti-Church pressure. The following reasons may be suggested for the persecution of the Mormons by the gentiles:² (1) The doctrine and organization of the Church, amalgams of Protest-

1. The official name is the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints.

2. A "gentile" is a non-Mormon.

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ant and Catholic elements and of democratic-liberal and authoritarian principles, which generated attitudes in contrast to the prevailing ones;³ (2) The claim of the Church to an independent and exclusive source of inspiration and revelation, a stand which antagonized other religious groups even before the introduction of polygamy as a policy; (3) The maintaining by the Church through leadership and ideology of its membership in a cohesive social group;⁴ (4) The factors involved in the position of Mormonism as a frontier religion; (5) The socialistic type of economic life, which was in conflict with the existing capitalistic economic system, attempted by the Mormons; (6) The Mormon demo-theocratic state and local government, which was alien to the secular nature of the American constitution;⁵ (7) The practice of polygamy by the Mormons; (8) The claim of the Mormons that allegiance to God had precedence over loyalty to the government of men;⁶ (9) The numerical advantage in population and the greater share of economic goods held by the Mormons; and (10) The desire of the gentiles, who were in the minority, to wrest economic and political control from the Mormons. All in all, the necessary social and psychological conflict factors were present in such design and degree as to make a tense situation that apparently could be relieved only with the victory of one side through the use of force.

Beliefs and practices of the Mormons were used frequently by the gentiles, who sought principally economic domination and political control, as techniques in politics

3. For a brief and authoritative statement on doctrine see Creer, Leland Hargrave, "Mormonism," *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, 11:14-18.

4. Erickson, Ephraim Edward, *The Psychological and Ethical Aspects of Mormon Group Life* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1922); Nelson, Lowry, *The Mormon Village: A Study in Social Origins*. Reprint from *Proceedings of Utah Academy of Science* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University, 1930), 7:11-37.

5. For the Mormon demo-theocracy see Creer, Leland Hargrave, *Utah and the Nation* (Seattle, Washington: University of Washington Press, 1929).

6. The Mormons protested to opposition on this basis because they believed the Constitution of the United States to be divinely established and, further, because they believed in being submitted to secular rule and rulers. *The Doctrine and Covenants of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints: Containing Revelations given to Joseph Smith, the Prophet* (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, 1934), 101:77, 176; see also, *The Articles of Faith*, number twelve.

to gain their ends. For example, considerable persecution of polygamists took place between the years of 1882 and 1885 under Governor Eli H. Murray. In 1882, the Edmunds Law, which excluded polygamists from voting or holding office, was passed by Congress. George Q. Cannon, a polygamist, was denied his seat as a Congressional delegate. Female suffrage, long a practice under Mormon hegemony, was done away with by the gentiles. Test oaths were required of polygamists. Polygamous marriages were dissolved and children disinherited by force. In 1887, hundreds of thousands of dollars in property were taken forcibly from the Mormons. The confiscation of homes seemed necessary apparently in order to force a rival group to conform to the dominant social customs of those persons who had at their disposal the state as instrument. Politically the two sides aligned themselves under party banners.

In 1859, the Liberal (anti-Church) party was organized by the gentiles. The People's party represented the Church. On April 15, 1871, the Salt Lake *Tribune*, a leading newspaper, became violently and viciously anti-Mormon, and it continued its atrocious attack for fifty years. National political party organization did not begin in Utah until 1872. A third party movement (between 1880 and 1886) and a fusion ticket in Salt Lake City elections (1888), composed of those elements that could follow neither the Liberal nor Church parties or that tried to reconcile the warring groups, were organized, but because of the tenseness of the situation, they dwindled and died. The first Democratic club of Utah was organized on November 12, 1884, and the National Democratic party, known as Sagebrush Democracy, was introduced in 1888. The People's party disbanded on June 10, 1891, and the Liberal party dissolved in 1893. Hostilities were more or less suspended by the Enabling Act of 1893. Wilfred Woodruff, president of the Church, had issued, in 1890, what is known as the Manifesto, the pronouncement by which the Church gave up the practice of plural marriage. At the constitutional convention (1895) the Mormons sacrificed the remainder of their prior position

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and handed over economic and political control to the gentiles.

After 1896, politics in Utah melted gradually into the national political scene, and in this process it lost the greater part of its distinctiveness. Although much in spirit from the period 1847 to 1896 has survived in present political forms and practices, one fact is clear to the more than casual observer: the influence of the Mormon Church in the politics of Utah, from the standpoint of effective pressure, is at the moment mostly a myth.

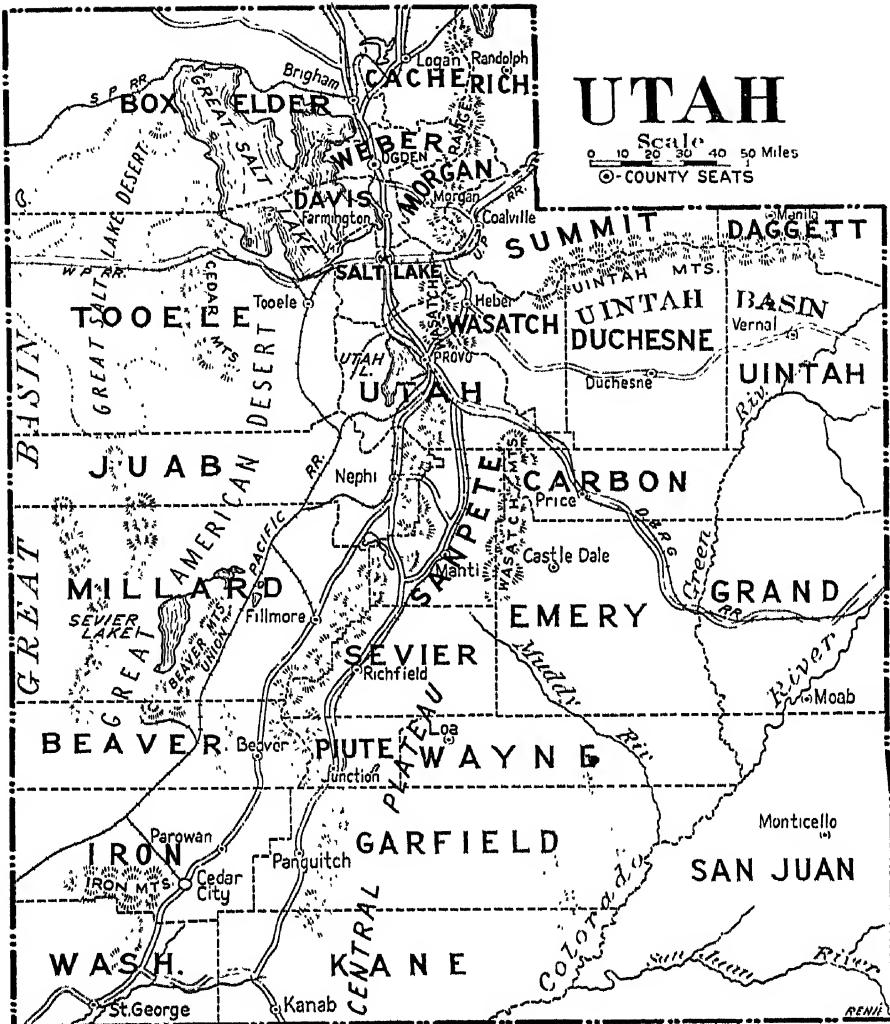
GEOGRAPHY AND RESOURCES

Utah, a land of mountains, valleys, plateaus, cliffs, basins, and deserts, offers the student of geography and geology a great variety of physical features for observation. Sections of the state are among the most arid and "broken up" in the nation, and in the southeast corner may be found the "last frontier," of which it has been said that "the Mormons have explored it all and rejected most of it, and where the Mormon cannot reclaim the desert, the gentile is well advised not to try."⁷

Continuous ranges of mountains, the Wasatch, the Pavant, and the Tushar, cut the state almost in the middle, from north to south, with a veer to the west as they approach, but do not touch, the Arizona boundary line. The Uintah range in the north central part of the state stretches from east to west, from the Colorado state boundary to the Wasatch range. In the northwestern section is found the Great Salt Lake desert; in the west central, the Great basin; in the southeastern, the Great Central plateau; and in the northeastern, the Uintah basin: vast areas of dry, tough, but beautiful earth, sparsely settled by straggling Saints.

Early settlements tended to cluster at points where small mountain streams issued into the high and pleasant valleys of the Wasatch, and from where the water could be spread by irrigation over the fertile and hungry land. While agriculture and grazing were the first economic activities,

7. Editorial, *Saturday Evening Post*, December 24, 1938.



they were soon supplemented by mining, and these are at present the chief sources of productive wealth. Mining was begun under Governor James Duane Doty (1863-1865), and it became the principal economic interest of the gentiles, who brought in large amounts of outside capital to exploit metal and coal resources. Perhaps some political significance may be attached to the value of categories of economic enterprises for taxable purposes and to the strategic position of

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social groups in the American capitalistic economic system.

Agricultural property, including livestock, fruit and grazing land, improved and unimproved land, is assessed at \$74,175,688, or at about 13 per cent of the total.⁸ Fruits and vegetables in the northern; hay, alfalfa, and barley in the central and southern sections; sugar beets in the central and northern, and wheat and oats throughout all sections, are some of the principal products. Farming is closely allied to livestock, mostly cattle and sheep, and is the basis for dairy products and poultry. Utah farmers and livestock men have been particularly interested in the tariff, which, since statehood, has been practically the only issue that has distinguished the Democratic and Republican parties.

Mining property, in 1938, was assessed at \$103,962,926, or at about 18 per cent of the total. Attitudes toward, and activities in, government and politics are often determined, not by the share of the economic goods one is permitted to take from nature and society, but by the portion of the income, derived from that share, which society, through the functionaries of the state, requests a person to return for the common welfare. Although more persons are engaged in, and dependent on, agricultural pursuits, from the standpoints of proportionate wealth, control, and pressure, Utah may be regarded as a mining state. With the base of 100 in 1900, the index figures in 1937 for all crops, livestock, manufacturing, and mining are 141, 197, 320, 363, respectively. The chief mining products are copper, lead, silver, gold, and zinc, and, in the non-metallic field, coal. The Chamber of Commerce in Salt Lake City claims that "Utah leads the world in smelting." Specifically, in politics, Utah has also been called a silver state. No representative in Congress has ever been openly against "silver legislation." Labor and capital, church and business, miner and farmer, are united on "silver," although at moments it is difficult to see "silver" as anything more than a symbol which is used as a technique

8. The total is approximately \$569,978,780 or from 50 to 70 per cent of the true value.

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of propaganda by an economic oligarchy in order to maintain its favored position in society.

Utilities have an assessed valuation of \$192,217,518, or about 33 per cent of the total. This sum is divided principally among eighteen telephone companies, seventeen railroads, and ten electric power companies. The largest of these are the Mountain States Telephone and Telegraph Company, the Union Pacific Railroad Company, and the Utah Power and Light Company. These are powerful pressure groups in their own right and contribute heavily to professional front and propaganda organizations.

Manufacturing is difficult to estimate on the foregoing basis. Processed products, although valued at more than half of the total for all products, are derived in the first instance from mining and agriculture. The influence of businessmen in politics can be calculated from the money contributions they make to professional good will and lobbying organizations.

Utah ownership holds \$198,862,000 of the agricultural, and \$41,000,000 of the livestock assets, while it holds only \$50,000,000 of the mining assets. It controls no utility of any significant size. The fact that the corporate wealth of the state is controlled by non-Utah and non-Mormon elements, putting the state in economic bondage to the Atlantic and Pacific seabards, may have some significance in the evaluation of pressures in Utah politics. The people have the votes, but they do not control political policy. Although the farmers have a great many votes and own considerable property, the ownership of the property is not concentrated, and the farmers are not well organized, nor do they have the money to finance "high-powered" corporation lawyers and participate on an equal basis in the dynamic and informal process of American politics. The Mormon Church now follows (and often runs a weak second or a poor third to the Catholics, Protestants, and Masons), rather than leads, the corporate and financial interests that dominate politics in Utah on behalf of the "common welfare."

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POPULATION FACTORS

Today the population of Utah is estimated at 518,000, an increase of about 10,000 over the census figure of 1930. This slight increase represents a "negative acceleration" and suggests that the state, under present conditions, has reached its optimum in population and in capacity to hold its inhabitants.

Population distribution and trade centers follow closely physiographic features and economic resources. Natural boundaries have made impossible, during certain seasons of the year, communication and transportation between towns lying on opposite sides of mountain ranges. Although poor roads have had an effect on the relationships between outlying towns, they have not greatly interrupted intercourse with Salt Lake City. Semi-annual conferences of the Mormon Church, held in the famous tabernacle, have kept open the arteries to the mecca of Utah. Political control has followed the same routes. Utah suffers from interurban jealousies but not from any major sectional strife as in Idaho, for the state is a comparatively compact region in itself. A glance at the map reveals how transportation lines cut the state in the north and strike the capitol from various directions.

Although the density is only 5.9 per square mile, the concentration is found in seven areas surrounding the trade centers of Richfield, Logan (9,979), Ogden (40,272), Provo (14,766), Price, Cedar City, and "the colossus of the north," Salt Lake City (140,000, with 50,000 more in the valley). Eighty per cent of the people live in these cities. Forty per cent of the total vote and 60 per cent of the Democratic vote are found in the capital city and its environs.

Approximately 115,713 persons are included in the farm population, of which 41,283 are engaged directly in agricultural pursuits. About 14,000 men are employed in mining. Between Mormons and the non-Mormons the ratio is three to two in the state and fifty-fifty in Salt Lake county. The Latter Day Saint population varies from 27.42 per cent in

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Carbon county to 92.44 per cent in Kane. Catholics and southern Europeans are numerically strong in mining sections (Salt Lake, Tooele, Summit, and Carbon counties). Most mining communities are preponderantly New Deal and Democratic. By contrast, Sanpete county, populated by the Scandinavians and English, is 90 per cent Mormon and agricultural. Republicanism has survived, and may be revived, best in this and similar places.

Small groups of Japanese, Jews, and Negroes are found in Salt Lake and Weber counties, but only the Jews have political influence and possibly constitute a political problem. Anti-Semitism is beginning to raise its ugly head in the historically congenial and coöperative atmosphere of the Utah metropolis. Citizens, chiefly businessmen, give the following reasons for the anti-Jewish feeling: an influx of Jews from Denver (Colorado) and Europe, the participation of Jews in fly-by-night and chain store business ventures, and the conspicuous pressing for favors by influential Jews through political office on behalf of members of their race. Jews deny these charges. The problem is distinctly not a religious one. This recent anti-Semitism in Utah, which has its counterparts in the international and national scenes, stands in contrast to the good will established by pioneer Jewish families since early frontier days.

EDUCATIONAL CONDITIONS

Educational problems in Utah that have political significance are as follows: (1) The raising and equalizing of school funds; (2) Sectional interests in the institutions of higher learning; (3) The office of the state superintendent; and, (4) The teacher's retirement plan. These can be treated only lightly within the scope of this essay.

Utah ranks high in the nation in consolidation and average daily attendance. While a neighboring state has 1,300 school districts and 750 one-room schools, Utah has only forty and ninety, respectively. Twenty-two school districts are coextensive with counties.

The compulsory attendance law, requiring students to

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remain in school until the age of eighteen, was passed in 1919. In Box Elder county, for example, nearly as large as the state of Massachusetts, the percentage enrolled in two high schools (twenty-two miles apart) is 95.6. New York has 72.9 enrolled; California, 85.8. The enrollment for the state is 95 per cent of the 145,523 school population. Obviously, the principal problem in Utah is not in getting students into school, but rather in giving them all an equally high quality of instruction, that is, in equalizing educational funds and, therefore, opportunities.

Jordan school district (Salt Lake county), in the heart of the mining section, has an assessed valuation of \$88,000,-000, while Sanpete county, an agricultural area, has one of \$4,500,000. Jordan gives \$528,000 to the state and receives \$155,000; Sanpete gives \$27,000 and gets back \$83,000. Some superintendents, under pressure from local politicians, instead of applying the extra funds to the improvement of educational conditions, lower the tax rate in the districts and therefore, by a shortsighted political policy, nullify the standards set, and efforts made, by the state. Districts in rich mining and urban areas have better educational conditions than those lying in "America's last frontier." Those that have wealth want to keep it, or see it spent, if it must be spent, in their own back yards. The problem has given rise to a political issue between financial and educational interests. The arena of the conflict is the state legislature; the means, politics; the victims, the student and the public.

Some sectionalism appears now and then in the effort to combine the two state universities, the Utah Agricultural College, in Logan, and the University of Utah, in Salt Lake City, both excellent four-year institutions, under one administration, but difficulties between the two sections are confined to the problem of getting and dividing public funds.

As elsewhere in the nation, the first in the field of education were the churches. The Mormon Church established high schools and colleges throughout the state and then turned its properties over to the public. Weber College, in Ogden; Dixie College, in St. George; and Snow College, in

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Ephraim, two-year schools, were taken over in 1932 and 1933. Sentiment and tradition played parts in the pressures pursued to maintain the old Mormon colleges at state expense. The Church, with the exception of Brigham Young University, a four-year school in Provo, has stepped out of higher education. Price (Carbon county) acquired a junior college in 1938, and Richfield (Sevier county) and Roosevelt (Duchesne county) have made sectional pleas for two-year schools.

The office of the superintendent of public instruction is still "in politics," but it would improve the situation very little to make it appointive. More talent in office, in some cases, does not guarantee, under our democratic-liberal form of government, the opportunity to exercise that talent.

Teachers, the Utah Educational Association, and the retirement plan are under fire from the capitalists, who resent any increase in taxation, and from the labor leaders, who cannot see why teachers should be favored over workers. Mining men dislike the educators for trying to obtain a severance tax on mining. On the whole, however, it may be said that the people of Utah are "education minded" and deeply interested in improving educational conditions.

PRESS AND PUBLIC OPINION

Utah's press, in general, is not much different in character from that of the familiar American pattern.⁹

Salt Lake City is served by the *Tribune* and the *Telegram*, owned and operated by the Catholic and mining interests of the Thomas Kearns estate, and the *Deseret News*, controlled by the Mormon Church. The state is covered by approximately sixty small city dailies and country weeklies. Logan and Provo have Scripps-Howard papers, and Ogden has a sizable daily publication.¹⁰

9. Lynd, Robert S., and Lynd, Helen Merrell, *Middleton in Transition* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1937), pp. 378-387.

10. Although Provo and Logan have Scripps newspapers, they claim independence from each other. "...their principles are quite different... This is because the editor and publisher of each paper is permitted to formulate his own policies." Gunnar Rasmussen, editor of the *Logan Herald-Journal*, claims that his paper is "the only liberal newspaper published in the State of Utah." Letter to the author, July 28, 1939.

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With a combined circulation of 82,488 daily and 90,835 Sunday, of which almost 20 per cent is in the states of Wyoming, Nevada, and Idaho, the *Tribune-Telegram* is the largest newspaper in the state. Salt Lake newspapers compete successfully with the Pocatello *Tribune* and other Idaho publications. In Utah, both the *Deseret News* and the *Tribune* have as great (or greater) circulation figures in most of the twenty-nine Utah counties as the local newspapers. Fast transportation and concentrated population units along the main highways make it possible for Salt Lake newspapers to reach outlying rural, rurban, and urban dwellers.

Politicians put the *Telegram* in the Democratic field, the *Deseret News* in the Republican, and the *Tribune* in both camps. All these publications are politically conservative, economically orthodox, anti-New Deal, and editorially strong in defending vested economic and financial interests. Public opinion in the state, in so far as it is molded or controlled, is dominated by these excellent channels on behalf of a centrally located class of conservative property owners, who keep public office holders in line by means of favorable or unfavorable publicity. However, these newspapers were not able to check the reëlection in 1938 of Senator Elbert D. Thomas, than whom no one had more ably and sincerely represented in Congress the real interests of the people of the state, and to whom the *Tribune* gave only one favorable, but innocuous, editorial comment during the five or six years he had held office.

NOMINATIONS, ELECTIONS, AND CORRUPT PRACTICES

While some states in the Union are dissatisfied with the results of the direct primary, Utah will introduce completely this method of nomination, as a protest against the well-known abuses of boss control in the convention system, for the first time in the elections of 1940.¹¹ Old party horses tried strenuously to nullify the movement by amending the pro-

11. The Direct Primary Law was passed on May 11, 1937. First and second class cities had primaries under the old law but no run-off primaries. *General Election Laws*, State of Utah, Secretary of State, August, 1939.

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posed bill in order to render it innocuous or to complicate it in such manner as to cause it to be repealed later, but the battle for reform was carried on by a stubborn group of liberal Democrats, led by Herbert Maw at the height of its popularity, and the new law was swept into effect. Under the new law, general elections are held on the first Tuesday after the first Monday in November, the regular primary election on the first Tuesday in September, and the run-off primary on the fourth Tuesday in September. Election units are the district, precinct, and county.

Any organization of voters qualified to participate in an election is a political party. The defining of the political party by law, together with a high filing fee, is a restriction on the attempts of third party groups to rise in power and may be regarded, because it limits the spontaneous character of political activity, as a device employed by groups in power to thwart the ambitions of challenging groups.

Candidates of the political parties (except presidential electors, national committeemen, and committee women) for national, state, district, county, judicial, and precinct offices are chosen by the primary election. If any candidate receives a majority of the votes cast, he is nominated, but if he does not receive a majority, then the two highest oppose each other in the run-off primary.

Notice for party conventions are given before the last Saturday in June in each year of a general election. Delegates are chosen in proportion to the number of persons within each district who voted for the party's candidate for congressman at the next preceding November election. Every district, however, has one delegate in each county convention.

Mass meetings are held in each district by the county central committee on the fifth day preceding the date of the county convention. At these meetings a chairman, vice-chairman, secretary, treasurer, three committeemen, and delegates to the county convention are chosen. The vice-president must be of the opposite sex. These officers are chosen by ballot. The same process serves the choosing of

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state party officers and convention delegates. Party officials serve two-year terms and must be qualified voters affiliated with the party. Platform conventions are held in September. The direct primary law also provides for the nomination of persons not affiliated with any party.

Party politics is increased rather than decreased by this law, which has added only time and expense to the election process by introducing two more formal steps between the dynamics of politics and the final election, without, incidentally, any assurance of securing as dividends more honesty or decency in political conduct. Stampeding and bribery are decreased to some extent but not avoided in the choosing of party officers and candidates. From close observation of the Utah experience it does not seem possible to introduce any system by which the informal elements in the American democratic political process can be partially or entirely eliminated without sacrificing the democratic character of the process. Utah politicians are in agreement, however, that they will have to exert a greater effort than in the past to maintain their domination and to keep other more isolated controls, such as those emanating from labor and pension groups, from getting the upper hand in the recognized party machinery.

Election principles and problems are the same in Utah as elsewhere in the United States, and laymen unconsciously and interest groups purposefully have the concept of politics as participation in the formal organization of political activity. Registration of voters, the secret ballot, absentee voting, and the initiative and referendum are adequately provided by law. Direct legislation has not been particularly abused in Utah, and no reform movement to alter it has appeared on the horizon. Constitutional provisions for political participation follow the familiar standard American pattern. The "ballot box is the Delphian oracle of political democracy," and the ballot, the voter, the ballot-box, and the guardians of the sacred institution "that make us free men in a free society" are given a precise place in the political process and are protected by the "rule of law." Unfortun-

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ately, no law can make persons pure and keep them from evading the spirit of the recorded rule.

Theoretically, no corruption in politics exists in Utah. The corrupt practices act, which was passed in 1917, is complete in every detail in circumscribing political conduct. It limits the amounts of money to be spent in campaigns, provides for complete publicity of receipts and disbursements, and stipulates the penalties for infractions. It is aimed particularly at corporations. In practice it is neither observed nor enforced. Reasons for its failure are as follows: no filing fees are required of any candidate or committee for the filing of expense reports, little investigating is done to see that candidates comply with the law, and no money is provided for its enforcement. Violations include incomplete and late filings, promises of offices and jobs, trading and buying of votes in conventions, and the pouring in of money from outside the state. At present it is dead timber, although it may have value as a silent policeman.

PARTY ORGANIZATION AND POLITICAL LEADERS

Though one prominent and praiseworthy citizen insists "that the people of this state do not wear a party yoke,"¹²

12. O. F. McShane, Commissioner, the Industrial Commission of Utah, letter to the author, August 16, 1939. Parts of the letter are worth quoting in order to indicate public opinion in Utah with respect to a particular problem revealed in the quotation. "I have watched the reaction of our people to both state and national issues . . . for more than forty-five years. The main satisfaction which I have experienced from my observation is that people of this state do not wear a party yoke. Their adhesion to a party name and its traditions is extremely loose. I have in my experience known a presidential candidate to gain more than 85 per cent of all the votes cast in a presidential election and in the next election seen the same candidate lose the state by a small majority while running against the same man whom he defeated so overwhelmingly only four years previously. As a *non-Mormon*, I take pride in the belief that my good friends, the Latter Day Saints, are more liberal and tolerant in politics than any religious organization in the entire United States. In my experience I know of a case where a man before statehood signed a petition in my home town along with twenty or twenty-five other citizens petitioning Congress to disfranchise the Mormon people. Within the short span of fifteen years I saw that same man elected as a city councilman in a community more than 90 per cent Mormon. I have seen in Utah a Mason [George H. Dern, 1924-32] elected governor over an outstanding man [Charles R. Mabey, 1920-24] occupying a gubernatorial chair and who has always been prominent in the Mormon Church as one of its outstanding moral leaders. I have seen a Jew [Simon Bamberger, 1916-20] elected governor in this state over one of the most prominent Latter Day Saints [Nephi L. Morris] of this generation." (The brackets throughout are the author's.)

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enough evidence may be supplied to suggest that Utah may be designated as a *party state*. In addition, Utah is a *spoils state*.¹³

Factors already pointed out, namely, centrally located trade and communication centers, concentration of population and commercial activities in the northern section, adequate transportation facilities between the north and outlying counties, a high degree of social cohesiveness and coöperativeness, the transfer of training in responsible leadership and fellowship from the Mormon Church to politics, and so forth, contribute to the possibilities for party organization. State law provides the framework; dynamics of the social situation supplies the flesh and blood.

Brief reference may be made to the Republican organization from 1920 to 1932, and more detailed attention given to the present Democratic hierarchy, because such analyses suggest a pattern in Utah politics that has more than a mere ephemeral value. With the Republicans, oligarchic control reached a climax with the famous Sevens Club. This was an informal and secret organization of seven rich or able men, political bosses, who began to spread out their influence like a fan, for each man brought in seven more, and each of these seven more, and so forth. Ernest Bamberger, a wealthy Jew, who lost the United States senatorship to William H. King in 1928, financed the plan.

At the present time, the Democrats are as well organized throughout the state as genius, hard work, and a favorable atmosphere, within the limits of human material, can make possible in the nation. Among them, however, may be found three principal factions. The old guard has split and

13. One of the most potent tendencies among the electorate that the "spoils advocates in Utah can look to for aid is the widespread feeling in the state for rotation in office, and the accompanying development in public affairs that is viewed as the heritage of every worthy citizen. . . . Only an insignificant number of persons on the public payroll within the state come under the influence of the civil service. . . . The return to office of a formerly defeated party sees almost a wholesale turnover in the state offices . . . (but) the picture of the persons in the service as a whole could be said to compare favorably with merit-system states as California . . . the state and its municipalities employ well over 5,000 persons in regular service, annually. G. Homer Durham, "Memorandum on the Public Service in the State of Utah" (Logan, Utah: Utah Agricultural College, 1939), unpublished manuscript.

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now forms two of these groups; one has become fat on political plums and is now walking arm in arm with the Republicans, and the other is trying to get fat and now controls the party machinery. W. W. Ray, his brother, Paul Ray, and a fine sprinkling of bankers and corporation lawyers, are representative of the ultra-conservative, right-wing element of the party. The two remaining factions are by far the more interesting for the student of politics.

Most of the members of the group that controls the state reside in Salt Lake City. H. R. Mulliner, who has never sought nor held public office (his strength), is a shrewd and artistic manipulator of party instrument boards. Dan B. Shields, who opposed Senator Elbert D. Thomas for the Democratic nomination in 1932, is a successful lawyer, and incidentally, United States attorney. Burton Musser, attorney for the Standard Oil interests, has recently won distinction through Mrs. Musser, who has twice been a delegate to Pan-American conferences. Henry D. Moyle, businessman and former attorney for the liquor commission, has had the ear of the governor on important issues and appointments. A. S. Brown, national committeeman, claims that he has been given little consideration by the administration. Leonard Brennon is a well-known behind-the-scenes worker. Delbert Draper, former college professor and state chairman, now a successful attorney, is responsible, to a large extent, for the present excellent party organization. Frederick P. Champ, Logan banker; Ira Huggins, Ogden attorney and president of the senate (1939); and Governor Henry H. Blood, from Davis county, by no means complete the coterie, and others may be added from time to time.

Most interesting, however, in an analysis of personal forces is a trio of hard-working young men: Calvin Rawlings, state chairman and district attorney; Parnell Black, Salt Lake county chairman and attorney for the liquor commission; and Harold B. Wallace, Salt Lake City attorney. These three men occupy the same suite of rooms in their private practice, and do, it is said, a "land office business." Because they work together, enjoy public plums, and dis-

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pense party patronage, they have been called the "three fat little pigs."¹⁴

Herbert B. Maw, lawyer and college professor, heads the third faction in the Democratic party and is one of the most feared men in the ranks (or out of them). In 1936, he led a partially successful revolt against dominant political and economic interests, and he almost won the nomination for governor from the incumbent, Blood, who had kept the favor of business interests and party men by consulting them and keeping peace in the family. Maw was in the senate from 1928 to 1939 and its president in the 1935 and 1937 sessions. In this position he became the champion of progressive measures in the fields of labor, social security (pensions), utility control, and political reform (the direct primary). He became known as a liberal leader principally through his attack on the utilities. Briefly, an act was passed in 1937, after a bitter fight in the senate, requiring the public utilities to file reports with the Public Service Commission.¹⁵ The Utah Power and Light Company had waged bitter fights to retain its lines in Ogden and Provo.¹⁶ Public opinion at

14. "We have but to watch the situation in Utah. The little game of politics is quite interestingly handled. This appears to be quite true at all times, the same forces apparently being in the driver's seat regardless of which party dominates the situation. . . . One of the greatest weapons in the hands of the political bosses is the appointive power, handing out the gravy to the boys and girls who toe the mark--and how they can and do toe it! One of the fair haired boys of the current state administration during session of the legislature was Senator Gordon Weggeland of Salt Lake City, quite the character of capacity--especially when he looks in the mirror! He was the appropriations committee chairman in the senate, a very handy position for the bosses to have a handy man in. Said senator certainly labored tirelessly. What Cal., Parnell and Harold (the unholy trinity of slickpanted lawyers and manipulators extraordinary under the current Democratic setup in this state) decided, certainly came up for kindly consideration in the appropriations committee. . . ." *Helper Journal*, July 20, 1939.

15. The commission had been organized in 1917 as a liberal move. For twenty years it was cowed by utilities. In 1937, it was reorganized under the pressure of law. *Laws of Utah*, 1937, Chapter 86. The sleeping incumbents were thrown out. Although some improvement is seen at the present time, the commission is still politics ridden and technically more or less incompetent. Community opinion and pressure, and business competition, are greater forces than public service commissions in bringing down rates.

16. The Provo fight was in progress during the summer of 1939. It provided an interesting study in the use of political techniques as well as in the clash of ideologies. F. E. Hall, "A Closeup of the Battle: Public versus Private Ownership of Electricity," unpublished manuscript, Salt Lake City, 1939.

the time was divided on the issue, but a considerable body of opinion in Utah favored the community ownership of electrical power plants.¹⁷ About 90 per cent of the country population during the summer of 1939 favored municipal ownership.¹⁸ Maw exploited the anti-utility sentiment. Utilities became the symbol of capitalistic control, of oppression of big interests, and of cheating the public in subtle ways. In many districts, however, the people did not have to be "propagandized," for they already had worked out a sane approach to the problem by building and operating electrical power plants.

Maw attempted to require the utilities to pay taxes on the same capital on which their rates were based. The objective of his plan was to have the public service commission fix the valuation for tax as well as for rate purposes. Having lost out in the legislature, the utilities won the battle in the courts, and the act was declared unconstitutional principally on the ground that the power to make valuations for tax purposes was vested in the state tax commission by the Constitution and could not be transferred by the legislature to the public service commission.¹⁹

Regular party war horses despise Maw and his progressive movement. They claim that, by his amiable manner, his ability to speak and his emotional appeal, he has exploited an element of discontent purely for political and personal advantage.²⁰ Two principal methods have been used by Rawlings, Draper, and other party leaders in the attempt to break the Maw opposition: the embarrassing of Maw and his

17. The *Deseret News* and the *Salt Lake Tribune* are opposed to municipal ownership. "The people display sound judgment in favoring private ownership of public utilities, which should be regulated by State or Federal law in the best interests of the people." The *Deseret News*, July 7, 1939. The county newspapers are about equally divided on the issue.

18. Based on the results obtained by the author in a questionnaire circulated among the persons in three control groups.

19. State ex. rel. Public Service Commission, et al. v. Southern Pac. Co. et al. (State Tax Commission et al. Intervenors). 79 P. 2nd 25, April 30, 1938.

20. American politics, even in these lofty regions of thin mountain air, smacks of something refreshingly realistic in the affection that one politician demonstrates for another.

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friends before the public and the giving of public office to his supporters.²¹

Rulon Howells was appointed executive secretary of the party in an attempt to reduce factional friction. Party leaders claim that the liberal movement spent itself with the legislature of 1937.²² Maw insists that the movement, although quiet at the moment, will arouse itself more effectively than ever in 1940. He cites as evidence the recent election of Ab Jenkins, Utah's speed king, as mayor of Salt Lake City over the wealthy, conservative, Chamber of Commerce president and party machine Democrat, Herbert A. Snow. Jenkins is a Republican. Conservative Republican eastside Salt Lake City voted for the industrialist Democrat, while liberal Democrat westside voted for the amiable Republican. This simple fact illustrates the actual alignment of forces in American politics as opposed to the artificial arrangement of the two party system that has become a convention and recognized wherever possible by law. Nothing that has been said detracts from the fact of effective domination of Utah politics by the Democratic party.

Other features of party organization are the social clubs. The Democratic Women's Club is well represented throughout the state and has made an excellent contribution to party harmony by means of its study clubs. In fact, it has, through Mrs. James H. Wolf, made a national impression.²³ Less liberal women have organized in opposition to the long existing Democratic Club (since 1896) as the Utah Council of Democratic Women. Social groups are the Jackson Democratic League, the Sagebrush Democratic Club, and the Young Democratic League. Republicans are represented by the Republican Club of Utah, the Women's Republican Club, the Young Republican's League, and the Young

21. G. V. Billings, director of registration; Arthur O. Ellett, executive secretary of the juvenile court and probation commission; Wendell Grover, department of agriculture; and Warwick Lamoreaux.

22. Utah has had three legislative highlights for liberal measures, 1889, 1917, and 1937.

23. "As to state organization of women in the Rocky Mountain region . . . Utah's was a decade in advance of the other states." Mary W. Dawson, National Democratic Committee, letter to the author, August 26, 1939.

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Women's Republican Club. Independent Republican groups are the Republican town forums and the Lincoln clubs. Although these appendages to regular party organizations suggest a loose independence in origin and development, they are held to the central body by the self-imposed rule that they will not push any person for office until the party candidate has been chosen by the machine. The Democrats adhere to this rule more closely than the Republicans. Republicans have weakened their cause by too much uncontrolled factional strife. It appears that the mere objective of choosing and electing a candidate is not sufficient to guarantee party harmony at the crucial moment.

Socialists maintain a skeleton state organization, and the Communists have branches in several of the urban and mining centers.

Party organizations in all cases are financed by dues and donations. The chief source of revenue in the Democratic party is the 1 to 5 per cent of the salaries of state employees collected each month by a party agent. Both major parties are turning to small donations as a source of revenue rather than holding to the historical habit of inviting millionaires of unproved ability to finance their campaigns and then rewarding them with a candidacy.

Utah members in Congress, especially senators, often develop a machine of their own, or act quite independently of the state organization, at least until election year. Senator William H. King (1917-1940) has demonstrated a loyalty to the oligarchy behind the party rather than to the party organization. His New Dealism is the laughing stock of the state. He is anti-labor, anti-liberal, and the mouthpiece for the opposition, including Democrats and Republicans, to President Roosevelt.²⁴ He voted against the silver legislation of 1939 in order to vote against Roosevelt on the measure to continue the power of the President to devalue

24. "... looking 'fit as a fiddle,' the veteran Democrat stepped off a Union Pacific train literally into the arms of a reception committee of two hundred *high officials* and prominent citizens, and at least a fourth of them were mainstays of the Utah G. O. P." *Deseret News*, August 28, 1937. Cf. *The Salt Lake Tribune*, Id.

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the dollar. The Salt Lake *Tribune* forgave him his treachery to the interests of the state and criticized Senator Thomas who was paired in favor of the silver bill. Senator King covers up his failures by a refuge to platitudes on foreign policy, the Nazis, the Jews, the refugee problem, and the divine nature of the American Constitution.²⁵ Utah citizens do not associate any act of statesmanship or strength of leadership with his name.

By contrast, in addition to being a good politician, Senator Elbert D. Thomas is a statesman.²⁶ Thomas supported and voted for the 1939 federal government reorganization plan, as well as President Roosevelt's supreme court reorganization. He was one of the co-authors of the National Labor Relations Act, as it was a committee act as it was passed finally by Congress. President Roosevelt's agricultural program, the TVA bills, the 1939 lending program, the 1939 social security acts, the WPA amendments (1939), the devaluating question, the reciprocal tariff program, and the Costigan Sugar Act of 1933, received his support and vote. Thomas has many excellent political and personal qualities and is by far Utah's most capable national representative. He has an adequate historical perspective, a sound and basic social philosophy, and, moreover, by heritage and choice he is unwaveringly loyal to the Democratic party.

Abe Murdock and J. W. Robinson, Utah's representatives in the house, are country lawyers and more or less conservative politicians, who follow the winds of party fortunes. They are pro-labor and New Deal, although the

25. "I readily agree . . . that Senator King has in few instances done anything to benefit the poorer classes; also that he is a Democrat in name and a Republican in his convictions. . . . I am reminded that while he was campaigning for office of senator from Utah, I had the opportunity of hearing him speak, in Ogden as well as in Brigham City, and in both places he made the remark that he believed in the old age pension and that he would do all he could, if elected, to help the old people get it, and then after he got in office he said he didn't believe in pensions." Letter to the Editor, *Salt Lake Tribune*, July 28, 1939.

26. The author does not hold to the popular distinctions in the connotations of the words *politician* and *statesman*. No person in office can be a statesman without being a politician, and when conservative middle class channels of public opinion call a man a politician because he agrees with his superior, they do it because the man does not agree with their point of view in defense of their own interests. Cf. the editorial, *Los Angeles Times*, January 31, 1940.

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A. F. L. may not support Murdock in 1940. These men trail along with party and economic leaders and have little influence in shaping party and governmental policies.

Many politicians in Utah, by far the majority, have entered politics as a stepping stone to a lucrative corporate law practice or as a source of livelihood. Retired party leaders represent powerful corporations by writing and lobbying bills for them; present party leaders hold public office and sell their influence to large corporations; prospective party leaders run the errands for their superiors in the hope of some day enjoying a more materially abundant existence. Only rarely does a college professor enter the lists to upset the pattern.

PRESSURE GROUPS

Legal counsel for a large public utility in Utah once wrote, in reply to a request for a "clearcut picture of political influence in the state," that "it is entirely accurate to say that except as the officers and employees of the company exert their rights of citizens, *we are without political influence.*" For some reason direct pressure on the legislature has never quite entered the legitimate content of the concept of American politics.²⁷ It is illegal in Utah for a person to influence a voter, but paradoxically it is within the law to approach a legislator while he is in service. These observations, however, need not preclude a scrutiny of the dynamic political scene. Moreover, it is clear that no account of politics in a region would be even partially complete without some references to political dynamics and the interplay of personal and social forces outside of the framework of government.

First of all, the Mormon Church may be disposed of in this brief consideration of the problem, for it is not, primarily, a pressure group. The oligarchy of the Democratic

27. "They [pressure groups] cannot be accepted, as Mr. Wallace suggests they should be, as a component part of a democracy." Perrin, Frank L. "North, South, East, West: the Group Instinct," *The Christian Science Monitor*, October 30, 1939. Cf. Wilson, Francis G., *Elements of Modern Politics* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1936), pp. 308-310, for a discussion of this problem.

Pressures refer to the methods of the interest groups.

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party, now in power, is made up chiefly of non-Mormons and impious members of the Church. In brief, other factors than religious, especially in the case of Mormons, determine political policies and attitudes.²⁸ Democratic leaders like nothing better than to have the Mormon Church endorse a rival candidate, for official Church approval makes it easier, they say, to "knock him over." They do not seek Church endorsement for their own candidates.

In 1932, through its official spokesman, President Heber J. Grant, the Church advocated the retention of the prohibition amendment.²⁹ By way of answer to him the state had the dubious honor of becoming the thirty-sixth state to ratify the twenty-first amendment. In 1936, again through President Grant, and, in addition, his able counselor, J. Reuben Clark,³⁰ a formerly recognized political leader in the Republican party, the Church came out with an editorial in its newspaper, the *Deseret News*, against President Roosevelt and his New Deal policies. This move cost the paper over twelve hundred subscribers.

In 1938, politicians claimed that the Church leaders threw their weight behind President Franklin S. Harris, of the Brigham Young University, in his opposition to the incumbent, Elbert D. Thomas, for United States senator. Harris lost to Thomas. The Church membership has not obeyed its leaders on any important political issue or candidacy during the last ten years. Only a small group of

28. Sheldon Brewster, a leading member of the Maw faction, which is frowned on by the Church, has been a Mormon bishop for ten years, and Maw has held high Church office for a long time. Rulon Howells, recently made executive secretary of the Democratic party machine, was made a Mormon bishop after he was elevated to this post. Rawlings and Wallace have held significant Church offices. Governor Blood, Democrat, is a Mormon, but non-Mormon business men approve of his policies. The Church officialdom is outspokenly Republican and anti-New Deal, anti-Roosevelt, and anti-Democratic.

29. The state prohibition section of the constitution was repealed by a three to two vote. The vote for delegates was in a ratio of five to three for repeal of the eighteenth amendment. Salt Lake county voted three to one on delegates to the convention and the state amendment for repeal. Cf. *Abstract of the Returns of an Election held in the State of Utah, Tuesday, November 7, 1938 . . .*; and *Utah Ratification Convention Proceedings*, December 5, 1938.

30. Former solicitor in the state department and United States ambassador to Mexico.

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sincere members blindly follow the Church leaders. Although the Church claims title to about forty millions of property and owns and operates business enterprises, in no case does it control the key industries or the major business institutions.

Briefly, the leading representatives of the dominant business groups of interests in the state are the Utah Manufacturer's Association, the Utah Taxpayer's Association, and the American Mining Congress (Utah chapter). Retail and wholesale businessmen are represented in a great many associations: grocers, fuel dealers, retailers, contractors, apartment houses, realty, pharmaceutical, and bankers. The Mountain Fuel Supply Company (gas) should be added to the list of utilities. The Utah Oil Company and the Utah Copper Company exert a great deal of pressure through their own business organizations.

Agriculture and livestock are represented by the Utah Farm Bureau and numerous coöperatives and growers' associations (wool, horses, and cattle). The Salt Lake City Chamber of Commerce carries great weight in local and state politics. The Associated Civic Clubs of Southern Utah and the Southeastern Utah Associated Industries are typical sectional groups.

Every administrative unit in the state government presses to get or keep favors. Officials of municipalities and counties have active legislative groups. Education, medicine, and law adequately defend their occupational interests.

Labor and pension groups have national counterparts in the state: the C. I. O., the A. F. L., the Railroad Brotherhoods, the Utah State Old Age Pension and Assistance Organization, and Townsend clubs.

All pressure groups follow very much the same pattern: permanent headquarters, executive secretaries, legal counsels, legislative committees, publications, door to door canvasses, public meetings, endorsement of candidates, conversations with legislators, and telephone calls. All of them have one objective in politics, to avoid being the goats, any more than they can help it, for the financing of the services

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of the state, or, if they are beneficiaries of those services, to make someone else pay the bill.

Perhaps the real capitol of the state is the Kearns building, situated in the heart of the business district of Salt Lake City, which houses the Kearns estate, the Utah Manufacturer's Association, the Utah Taxpayer's Association, and the American Mining Congress, and, in addition, the Utah Power and Light Company and the Utah Copper Company headquarters. Forty-seven East South Temple (the Mormon Church) hardly fits into the picture on a comparable basis. Though on the surface it seems to be a clear-cut pattern of conduct, politics is, in reality, an intricate labyrinth of intrigue and machination.

VOTING HABITS

Voting in Utah since statehood has been mainly along national lines. From 1900 to 1916, the state voted Republican; from 1916 to 1920, Democratic; from 1920 to 1932, Republican; and from 1932 to 1940, Democratic. In 1912, though the United States elected Woodrow Wilson, the state remained Republican.

Where the population is small, and the greater part of it concentrated in a single area, personal forces are bound to be effective from time to time in spite of sweeping social forces. For this reason it was possible for King (Democrat) to defeat Bamberger for United States senator in 1928, and for Dern (Democrat) to defeat Mabey in 1924 for governor. In a cohesive group, rumors tend to spread quickly, slogans catch on easily, and whispering campaigns may make or break a candidate.

It is evident that the key counties are the more populated and centrally located, Salt Lake, Cache, Weber, Davis, and Utah. A candidate can lose twenty or twenty-one counties and still win an election. The vote in Cache, Weber, Davis, and Utah counties has been fairly close through the political history of the state. Salt Lake county is made up of a great many diversified interests. These facts make clear the reason for the fluctuating result from election to

election. A candidate hailing from a leading county can swing the vote in his favor. Over a period of years, if the issues are not sharply drawn, the number of Democrats and Republicans tend to find a level. The marginal vote seems to gravitate toward urban centers. At the present time, the Democratic party in Utah has the proletarian vote in its lap.

In 1932, Republican Reed Smoot (United States senator, 1903-1933), who suffered defeat at the hands of Democratic Senator Elbert D. Thomas, complained that his party had deserted him, but he received 88,000 votes, only 2,000 less than in 1926. In 1926, the popular and wealthy Ashby Snow polled 53,809 votes for the Democratic party, while in 1932, the popular and *poor* Elbert D. Thomas obtained 116,909. Since 1922, a singular feature of the Republican vote is that it has remained a consistent aggregate of about 80,000.³¹

Carbon county is typical of the mining communities. From 1902 to 1922, it was Republican; since 1922, it has been Democratic. Mine owners traditionally have not been either particularly Democratic or Republican but have tended toward the G.O.P. Prohibition turned the mining communities toward the Democratic camp, and labor policies of the federal government have kept them there. Livestock men have been traditionally Republican. It may be noted that outlying counties with sheep, cattle, and ranches in great numbers have been consistently Republican. The vote in these counties has remained along party lines.

Third parties have not flourished in Utah. They have arisen chiefly from two sources: either they have sprung out of the local religious question,³² or they have been introduced from outside the state, although a local basis for a third party movement may be seen in the economic, mainly

31. 1924—72,127 (governor); 1926—88,101 (United States senator); 1928—77,073 (United States senator); 1930—81,224 (congressmen); 1932—86,066 (United States senator); 1934—82,154 (United States senator); 1936—80,118 (governor); 1938—81,071 (United States senator). Cf. Varney, Harold Lord, "Autopsy on the Republican Party," *American Mercury*, XL (January, 1937), pp. 1-12.

32. The American party and the Independent party, in the 1908 elections, are historical examples of local parties. The American party was the dying breath of politically organized gentile hatred against the Mormons.

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labor, problem. The Socialist, Communist, or Independent-Progressive parties have never been identical with the liberal movement in Utah. Liberalism has been the result of reform in labor and social conditions or in political practices rather than the basis for a political party organization apart from the two parent parties. The Socialist party (organized since 1902) reached peaks with 23,000 votes in 1918 and 32,000 in 1924; in 1936, it received 432 votes. The Communist party came on the ballot first in 1928 but did not find a propitious atmosphere.

It may be noted in conclusion that straight party ballots are the rule rather than the exception, and that the state pluralities compare favorably throughout with national margins. The dominant economic interests of the state are tied up with those of the nation. In 1932, 215,000 votes were cast in the state, 40,000 more than in 1928. Salt Lake county registered 69,000 votes in 1928, 11,000 less than in 1932. Approximately the same figures hold for the 1936 elections. Reasons for this numerical increase in voting and the direction it has taken must be sought in a analysis of the impact of the New Deal policies on the traditional voting habits of the people.

IMPACT OF NEW DEAL POLICIES

In discussing the impact of New Deal legislation and policies on the people of Utah it may be well to keep in the forefront the dominant economic interests and the pioneer background of the state. The purpose is not only to analyze actual conditions, but also to give the observations and conclusions of a body of opinion.

Labor, on the whole, has benefited from federal legislation. Advances have been made in working conditions and civil liberties. The largest gains have been made in mining communities in which the C. I. O. has come to dominate the scene. Labor has become more class conscious than at any other time in its entire history in Utah.

On the other hand, industry is definitely opposed to the labor policies of the New Deal. Enterprises are restricted in their operations. The Wages and Hours Bill limits min-

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eral prospecting and mining speculation. Mine owners claim that workers prefer to work seven days a week and overtime each day in order to complete a job far removed from centers of habitation. They also claim that the Securities and Exchange Commission restricts the expansion of mining by reducing interest in speculative ventures in new fields of operation.

Mining officials are not favorable to labor legislation. They desire the repeal or amendment of both the Wagner Act and the Wages and Hours Act. They deplore the rising class consciousness engendered by these favorable acts as well as the strictures the new laws tend to put on their operations. D. D. Moffat, general manager of the Utah Copper Company, expresses their attitude when he says that he is opposed to "any organization which advocates the principle of the closed shop and denies a man the right to work, who wants to work, unless he pays tribute to that organization."³³

Labor was the chief point of discussion at the American Mining Congress held in Salt Lake City during the summer of 1939 (August).³⁴ W. O. Ash, western regional wage-hour director, read a paper by Elmer F. Andrews, national administrator, in which the latter said, by way of a chiding answer to the complaints of mining men against labor and labor legislation, "the ease with which employers have been able to read the minds of their workers, to tell us exactly just what they do or do not want in the way of hours and working conditions, has deeply impressed me. But the curious thing about it is that the workmen themselves haven't told us these things."³⁵ Mine employers and operators were

33. The *Deseret News*, September 4, 1937; cf. *Western Mineral Survey*, May 26, 1939. This is a notorious example of the enterpriser in the capitalistic system who desires his laborers to have their freedom of contract in order that they might be under bondage to him. In the free play of economic forces (or when they are controlled by the enterpriser) the employer has a decided advantage. Liberty in this case is used as a technique and ceases to be an end. Cf. Hamilton, Walton H., "Property," *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, XII: pp. 528-538.

34. "High Taxes, the 'big and little' Wagner Acts, the Wage-Hour Act, high labor costs, and S.E.C. are the high hurdles of new mining development. This was the conclusion of Carl J. Trauerman in an address at the A. M. C. convention today." *Deseret News*, August 30, 1939.

35. The *Deseret News*, August 31, 1939.

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furious at Andrews.³⁶ For the most part, mining men, if not Republican, are violently anti-New Deal. Labor, on the other hand, is pro-New Deal in Utah. No Republican candidate has been endorsed by labor within the last four years in city, county, state, or national elections.³⁷

William M. Jeffers, Democrat and president of the Union Pacific Railroad, has come out in speeches against the intelligentsia in public office, the bureaucracy of the New Deal, the waste and excesses under present labor protective measures, high taxation, and the Gregory Coal Act. His argument, similar to that of many other industrialists and financiers, is that he himself rose from the ranks of labor, that the class consciousness engendered by the New Deal is not a part of American democracy, and that labor will finally lose its gains if its leaders "do not take a more fair attitude in their dealings with industry."³⁸ Considerable resentment is expressed against "foreign" organizers in the vanguard of labor, specifically the C. I. O. Notwithstanding these attacks, labor has become more articulate in Utah since 1932, but it reached its height in 1937 and is now barely holding its gains. It remains a fact, however, that Utah is not a *labor state*, and that Salt Lake City is not a *labor town*.

Only five out of thirty newspaper editors and publishers in the state would like to see the N. L. R. B., even if its administration were improved, retained beyond 1940.³⁹ Nineteen favor the amending of the Wagner Act, eighteen for industry and one for labor. Two wish the law to remain as it is now in force. It is difficult for labor in Utah to become conscious of itself as a class with distinct interests and ends. The New Deal has made inroads in the labor field, but it has not been able to break completely through the traditional outlook, which view sees employee and employer

36. The Salt Lake Tribune, September 8, 1939.

37. Pro-labor candidates have appeared in the Republican ranks. Unfortunately for themselves they have not been able to convince labor legislative committees of their labor sympathies.

38. Salt Lake Tribune, June 18, 1939.

39. Not including Salt Lake City nor trade journals.

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integrated under a common aim and not working at cross or parallel purposes. This ancient *ansicht* can be rallied more readily to the cause of industry and business than to that of labor.

Mine owners have benefited recently (1939) from the increased price of silver. This new silver price probably was used by President Roosevelt as bait in order to win support from western senators to the legislation which at the same time continued his power to devalue the dollar. Executive discretion, in the eyes of the enemy (anti-Rooseveltian), has become associated definitely with the possibility, and high probability, of dictatorship. Favorable mining legislation for western states has not been enough to soften the hearts of mining men toward the New Deal.

Frederick P. Champ, Logan banker and Democratic leader, undoubtedly expresses the view of the bankers when he says that "Bankers and business leaders here, as elsewhere, appreciate many features of the New Deal, including the reconstruction of banking capital, federal deposit insurance, and other factors, but they regret the continued perpetuation of emergency federal lending agencies, which, to a great extent, are preventing the employment of private capital in the financing of agriculture particularly. . . . As a Democrat and a New Dealer, I share this opinion, but I realize the impetus which is gained by bureaucracies once they are set up. . . . I believe there is little agricultural or business credit of a legitimate nature which is required in this intermountain section which cannot readily be supplied at reasonable rates and desirable terms by banks and other private credit institutions. . . . The bankers of this state and Idaho, as well, share generally the apprehension that the federal government may take over the ownership of the federal reserve system, which would be another step toward complete ownership of the banking and credit business."⁴⁰ Paradoxically, Marriner S. Eccles, Governor of the Federal Reserve Board, is a Utahan from Ogden and head of a chain of banks throughout Idaho, Utah, and Wyoming. Members

40. Letter to the author, July 29, 1939. Cf. *Deseret News*, June 18, 19, 20, 1939.

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of his own family and firm resent some of his policies and close association with the New Deal.

Two control groups of typical Utah farmers, in response to a question as to whether they felt it was easier to secure loans from the federal government than from private agencies, answered 76 per cent in favor of the government. This statement, however, does not mean to imply that the farmer would prefer to deal with the government. On the whole, the New Deal has won favor among the rank and file of the voters with its banking and finance legislation. The feeling of security suggested by the deposit insurance is transferred to other acts of the government. The banker in control of the purse does not seem to be in want. Furthermore, the intricacies of finance are known to but a few persons.

Industry and agriculture, in addition to mining specifically, are displeased with the Hull trade treaties. The sugar industry in the Rocky Mountains has not been favored by the New Deal. It has been restricted by domestic beet acreage limitation and the high Cuban sugar quota.⁴¹

In Utah, the cultivated land is divided into 30,695 farms, and 27 per cent of these farms are of less than twenty acres. While the income from livestock is greater than it is from crops, livestock is fairly well distributed over the small farms. Ranching, from the standpoint of raising horses, sheep, and cattle, and not from that of the size of the farm, is a characteristic agricultural activity in the state. Sheep and cattle raisers have not fared very well during the last ten years. Farmers in this category appreciate the oppor-

41. Public--No. 414—75th Congress, Chapter 808, 1st session, approved September 1, 1937.

See comments in the *Salt Lake Tribune*, August 8, 13, 17, 21, 28, 29, 1939. "At Lehi, Utah, which has a population of 2,000, we had a beet sugar factory with a payroll of \$300,000 a year, and now it is in ruin. The industry has been mired through the economic idiocy of importing cane sugar produced at low labor costs outside the United States." *Salt Lake Tribune*, July 16, 1939. For government attitude see *Salt Lake Tribune*, August 29, 1939, interview with Dr. Joshua Bernhardt, United States Department of Agriculture.

Cf. "Senator Reed Smoot: We thank God for your well-deserved defeat. Just retribution for the misery you have brought Cuba. Rafael Gomez." (Letter to Reed Smoot at the event of his political defeat in 1932). *Deseret News*, November 10, 1932.

tunities to make long-term loans at low interest rates, but they assail the federal tariff policies.⁴² An agricultural and political leader has said that "Farmers who produce live-stock and sugar beets are much displeased with the importation of canned meat from South America and too much sugar from Cuba and the Philippine Islands, owing to low tariff duties. It appears that Secretary Wallace is trying to destroy the sugar beet industry, lowering the price of sugar and advancing labor costs to the farmers. This mistake of Secretary Wallace will cost the New Deal many thousand votes in western states."⁴³

The Farm Security Administration is organized throughout the state. It has not been effective in meeting the vital problem of the farmers, farm mortgages, although it has provided small loans at moderate interest rates without much security.⁴⁴

Federal Land Banks, which make long-term loans, are hardly New Deal agencies. They do not desire to take farms away from the owners; nevertheless, they foreclose on some mortgages at practically every court session. The A. A. A.,

42. The loans are on farms made through the Utah Farm Production Credit Association and the Federal Land Bank. Farming supports the livestock; livestock supports the family by being practically the only source of cash income in some localities. "Now I am managing our own farm and livestock ranch, and helping farmers secure government loans through the Utah Farm Credit Association and the local Federal Land Bank. Many farmers in our locality have saved their farms through these long time, low interest loans. Banks could not make long-time loans, and their rate of interest was too high compared with low production income from farm crops." John P. Holmgren, letter to the author, August 14, 1939. See the *Deseret News*, July 29, 1939.

43. Holmgren, *op. cit.*

44. "The latest figures for Utah are as follows: Rehabilitation loans have been made to 5,843 families and total \$4,819,895; grants for subsistence needs have been made to 2,050 Utah families since the beginning of the program in 1935; these grants have totalled \$386,353. As of June 30, however, there was only one Utah family receiving grant aid. There were 4,587 active rehabilitation loan cases, as of that date. Our debt adjustment service has handled 729 cases in Utah, reducing indebtedness of \$2,812,418 by \$464,283. Eight tenant purchase loans have been made totalling \$60,905. These loans enable farmers to buy their own places. The FSA has two homestead communities in operation in Utah, one at Sevier Valley Farms, Garfield county, (16 farms); and the Widtsoe Resettlement Project, Utah county (12 farms).

"The allocation for tenant purchase loans in Utah for the 1940 fiscal year is \$56,517. This will provide funds for approximately nine loans, averaging \$6,300 each. Loans will be made in Utah, Box Elder, Millard and Sanpete counties." United States Department of Agriculture, Farm Security Administration, letter to the author, August 18, 1939.

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in its control program, has not been very effective in Utah because few farmers here are great wheat growers, and therefore, only a few of them have benefited under such legislation. In answer to the question concerning the increase of the average cash income of the farmer, 75 per cent of the farmers in three control groups of typical farming communities do not believe that it has been increased. But it is clear from data that the average income has increased, as well as the acreage and price of wheat. It is not possible to say how much of these increases was caused by the A. A. A. program or how much by the natural trend of farming.

From the Farm Credit Administration and the Emergency Crops and Feed Loan Office, the farmers have realized considerable benefits. Soil conservation districts are organized throughout the state. Farmers resent being told what to raise and how to raise it, and they smile at the checks for \$7.95 they receive for raising alfalfa at the request of the government. But the man who receives \$7.00 an acre for getting rid of his morning glories, although it costs him \$14.00 an acre to cultivate the necessary acreage in order to receive his check from the government, suggests that after all he gets rid of the morning glories. The farming problem in Utah is not rotation of crops nor conservation; it is water, and hardly anything more than water, unless it is money in order to make conservation possible. Utah's growth as a state is tied up with the water supply for irrigation purposes and not with metal and coal.⁴⁵ Furthermore, the answer to the problem is not more law, more administrative bureaucracy, and more paternalism, but encouragement and incentive, based on substantial aid to and positive recognition of the value of farm services, from society, and from

45. For the attitude of the mine owners on this subject see Vandergrift, Rolland A., and associates, *The Economic Dependence of the Population of Utah* (Salt Lake City, May 15, 1931). Mine officials, who instigated and subsidized this partial report, claim that 47.17 per cent of the people of Utah are dependent on metal mining activities alone. Agricultural leaders claim that the figures are 61, 27, and 12 per cent for agriculture, mining, and manufacturing, respectively. No premises based on philosophical outlook or social values are made in the Vandergrift report. The mine operators, supported by the Salt Lake Tribune, have been to date the better manipulators of representations.

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government as the personification of the state. Utah farmers are not ignorant, but they are helpless in the face of the exigencies of a system in which they play a secondary role and have little control.

No permanent benefits have been realized from the Surplus Commodity Corporation. Crop insurance is too new for general acceptance. The Utah Farm Bureau advocates the continuation and liberalization of crop insurance and commodity loans; wider power for the Secretary of Agriculture in aiding agriculture and effecting lower freight rates; requirement of less land retirement in areas where farm units are shown to be economically profitable; field assistance in organizing marketing agreements; authorization of the F. S. C. C. to adjust the purchase price of surplus commodities to effectuate "cost of production" or "parity" prices for the crop purchased; assistance of regional research laboratories in finding commercially profitable uses for noxious weeds and surplus agricultural commodities; continuation of the soil conservation program and benefit payments, and continuation of parity payments until such time as parity prices can be achieved through controlled production.

About 70 per cent of the farmers in three control groups believe that the federal grazing laws tend to squeeze out the little man in favor of the big man.⁴⁶ On the other hand, an administrator of the grazing laws in one of the groups claims that the little man has tended to squeeze the big man rather than the reverse.⁴⁷ Many previously Republican live-

46. Conservation programs within the scope of present economic and political conditions seem to bring about this result. A recent attempt in California to regulate oil production, labelled as a conservation measure by the New Dealers, admittedly favored the larger oil interests. See the Taylor Grazing Act, approved June 28, 1934 (48 Stat. 1269), and amended June 26, 1936 (Public, 827, 74th Congress), and July 14, 1939 (Public No. 173, 76th Congress, Chapter 270, 1st session).

47. "Permits for from one to twenty head of cattle or equivalent sheep are numerous, they are uneconomical, and only injure the families who have a permit large enough to maintain an economic unit. They penalize the large producer because he does all the riding, salting, and furnishes the bulls in case of cattle." Extended statement attached to questionnaire.

"With reference to the smaller livestock holders being squeezed out under the new range program, I mentioned the policy of commensurability. In determining who should occupy the range, Mr. Carpenter, through the Department of Interior, inter-

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stock men are now New Deal because they hold jobs under the present administration or because they have benefited from loans. But it seems correct to say that grazing laws, as those governing the forest service or the reclamation program, can hardly be called New Deal. Farmers associate the present government agricultural alleviation program less with the New Deal than do persons who have benefited from WPA and direct relief measures. In Utah they are more apt to vote according to traditional habit than those who have received more direct governmental aid. In typical agricultural communities there is not a great need for direct relief.

Politically the New Deal has not been as successful in selling its agricultural program in Utah as perhaps in other states. In the first place, most agricultural measures are not enacted for a remote, comparatively insignificant region. Then, too, Utah has many peculiar problems that cannot be solved by general national legislation.⁴⁸ Also, the State Department of Agriculture and the Utah Agricultural College have had programs for the improvement of land, cattle, and dairy herds for a great many years, and although the federal government has financed the greater part of these programs, it did so before the New Deal and in an indirect manner. Furthermore, the measures identified specifically with the New Deal are new and sometimes alien to the traditional habits of farming. They have not had time to become an integral part of the agricultural program. Agencies have been changed from time to time, and the New Deal program, on the whole, has not been well coördinated, with

48. For example, the splitting up of large farm units into smaller ones in order to divide the land among the children of large families, and the inability of the smaller units to produce enough to keep a family.

interpreted that range rights might be given to these people whose private holdings furnished sufficient feed for livestock during the non-grazing period. This varied in localities, usually from 8 or 6 months. In Utah, you should know that many of our small ranches were located with the idea of using the public range as if it were privately owned. In other words, these people could establish no commensurability and, therefore, lost one phase of their income, which has left many of these farmers badly stranded." William Peterson, Director Extension Service, Utah Agricultural College, January 5, 1940.

the result that the farmer has heard of or read about twelve or more governmental groups organized to help him; but somehow not one of them aids him in the very specific way he needs help at a particular moment. The New Deal has barely touched the agricultural problems in Utah.

In many farm communities about half the farmers are on WPA and receive from \$40 to \$60 a month. This is more cash than they have seen in a great many years. As long as the New Deal pours money into these localities, it will keep the loyalty of a substantial group of voters who identify their livelihood with the Great White Father. A psychological conflict is becoming more and more manifest among farmers who pioneered the land, or whose fathers did so, and who have been brought up on a self-help, close-to-nature philosophy. It is clear that the man who has lived close to the soil is torn between two sets of values. How this conflict will be expressed in social and political acts is too early to predict now. Twice as many farmers as not believe that the New Deal, in its relief work among the farmers, has discriminated against those who have refused to go on direct relief. The New Deal has not succeeded in creating a feeling of dependency on its specific policies, except in the case of the WPA and forms of direct relief. One feeling, however, is growing, and that is that it behooves a person to get what he can for himself regardless of traditional belief, the plight of others, and the social consequences. He who has tried to maintain his independence has remained outside the pale of New Deal paternalism. In brief, New Deal philosophy stands in contrast to the *pioneer spirit*, and the people of Utah are undergoing a change in *Weltanschauung*.⁴⁹ This change in psychological frame of reference may not necessarily reflect itself in the continued support of Roosevelt and New Dealism, for it may make itself manifest in the attitudes of those who vote for either party. Republicanism may choose to exploit a reaction to the New Deal based upon traditional notions and habits, but it is more likely to take advantage merely of the lack of coördination in the admin-

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istration of New Deal policies and, in the process, retain the old labels for the different, if not new, dispensation in American politics.

Of thirty newspaper editors outside of Salt Lake City, the majority would like to see the National Youth Administration (NYA) and Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) perpetuated beyond 1940, regardless of the party in power. On the Federal Housing Administration they are equally divided in opinion. A third would like to see the Farm Credit Administration continued; less than a third, the Works Progress Administration (WPA), the Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC), and the Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA). Two-thirds wish to see the Social Security Administration continued after 1940. All of these opinions were rendered with the proviso that the administration of these agencies should be improved. It seems that the New Deal has won public support in trying to handle the youth and social security problems. On the other hand, the government has met with opposition from the Mormon Church on some of its social security and relief measures.

Utah has received considerable help from the federal government. Although the Mormon Church has boasted of taking off or keeping from the relief rolls its members, it is known that the state has received more money for relief per capita than the majority of the states in the Union. The Mormon Church has devised a program for the relief of its members. However, it has met with only partial success. Church leaders have antagonized many WPA workers by their sharp criticisms. Their method has been to put to shame anyone who accepts money without working for it and to make it embarrassing and difficult for their own members to ask for it.⁵⁰ On the other hand, church leaders

50. Clark, J. Reuben, "Church Welfare Plan," A Discussion before the First Citizen's Conference on Government Management at Estes Park, Colorado, June 20, 1939, *Deseret News*, July 1, 1939. Cf. Ballif, Arvel Smith, "A Study of Social Security Planning and Organization in the Mormon Church," unpublished Master's thesis (Los Angeles: University of Southern California, 1937); and, Kerr, Clark, "Productive Enterprises of the Unemployed: 1931-38," Part IV, Selected States, unpublished doctoral dissertation, (Berkeley: University of California, 1939). Contains a critical bibliography in the footnotes.

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have devised a substantial work program for their members. It is impossible to know how much effect or influence the church has had on attitudes toward the New Deal.

Certainly persons must notice the new city halls and school auditoriums that dot the state. From the beginning of the WPA program in September, 1935, through May 30, 1939, federal funds amounting to \$26,329,537 have been spent on projects operated by the Works Projects Administration.⁵¹ The average number of WPA employees has been about 9,500. A total of \$61,655,156.31 has been allocated to Utah from the Emergency Relief Appropriation Acts of 1935, 1936, 1937, and 1938 consolidated, as of June 30, 1939. These figures do not exhaust the funds obligated by various agencies from regular appropriations.⁵²

Utah's relief bill is about \$500,000 monthly or \$6,000,000 annually. Federal funds supply about 23 per cent of this expenditure. It is impossible to know what effect the expenditure for public works and relief has upon the voting habits of people. Many of those who have received New Deal benefits were already Democrats or did not vote before the advent of the New Deal. The majority of the young persons who have voted for the first time since 1932 seem to gravitate toward the New Deal ranks. Conservative Democrats, not the recipients of these benefits, and who have resented them, have turned to the Republican party. In 1938, Republicans made small gains in some spots. Although it is claimed that WPA and "politics" are strangers to each other, it is safe to assume that the beneficiaries under the New Deal will continue to vote the Democratic ticket.⁵³ The Republicans may be able to organize New Deal discontent or attribute favorable legislation more to social than to personal forces. The belief is becoming more widespread that social change and not President Roosevelt is responsible for the increase

51. Federal Works Agency, Works Projects Administration, letter to the author, July 26, 1939.

52. The office of government reports, office of the state director for Utah, letter to the author, August 11, 1939.

53. Hall, E. F., "The W.P.A. and Politics," unpublished manuscript, (Salt Lake City, 1939).

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in social services. Utah, comparatively a poor state, on the basis of pragmatic considerations, would do well to receive all the money it can get from the federal government. Federal distribution of funds is an effective method for the equalizing of shares in economic goods and, therefore, in social opportunities.

Chapter II

COLORFUL COLORADO: STATE OF VARIED INDUSTRIES

By ROY E. BROWN

* * *

Few states in the Union have a more colorful political history than Colorado. The name is of Spanish origin and means colorful. Those who named it no doubt had its natural beauty in mind. That the name should fit the political development of the state as well as its physical features is a coincidence. Admitted to the Union in 1876, as the thirty-eighth state, Colorado is known as the Centennial state.

The part of Colorado lying east of the Rocky Mountains was originally a part of the Louisiana territory purchased from France in 1803. Until two years before it was acquired by the United States, this territory had been owned by Spain, who had established a government over it. That part of the state which lies south of the Arkansas river, and a long narrow strip through the mountains, had at one time been claimed by Texas, and became a part of the United States when Texas was admitted to the Union in 1845. There was a considerable overlapping of area in the Louisiana purchase and the Texas territory, but the contest over the northern boundary of Texas had been settled long before Colorado was admitted as a state.

The western part of what is now Colorado, and an additional strip lying west and south of the Rio Grande Del Norte, was secured from Mexico after the war with that country in 1848. Thus, parts of the state of Colorado have been owned and governed by Spain, by France, by Mexico, and by the Republic of Texas.

The present political picture in Colorado is greatly

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influenced by its past history. The first white people to occupy the territory were marked individualists. They moved into the area before it was open for settlement and before any provisions were made for an organized government. Many of the early settlers were miners seeking gold. They left their wives and children in the East, and few of them expected to become permanent settlers. Many were young, and all were adventurous. Like Jefferson they believed "the less government the better." Being removed from any superior governmental authority each mining community established its own agents of government. When the need arose, as it always did, they established in the mining camps and towns such agencies as would preserve law and order. These governments were unofficial, but were necessary to protect the mining claims. The miners met in mass meetings and decided all current questions. They organized mining districts, fixed the size of claims, determined the amount of work necessary to hold these claims, created and elected officers and agreed upon such rules governing the camps as they believed essential.

The judicial procedure was equally simple and effective. Codes of criminal and civil law were enacted by majority vote at mass meetings and put into effect. Persons accused of crime were tried before a jury, and if found guilty the verdict was at once executed. No prisons being available the punishments were usually whipping, banishment from camp, or hanging. An appeal could be, and often was, made to all the citizens of the camp.

As the population continued to increase and the problems became sectional, these early settlers, without any authorization from Congress, organized the "Territory of Jefferson." They elected officers, enacted laws, and eventually drew up a constitution and asked to be admitted into the Union. All this was done without any legal authority. To a large degree this spirit of independence and individual initiative as displayed in the early political history of the state has been carried over to present day politics. In no part of the United States are local rights more jealously

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guarded. The people have been unwilling to tolerate much supervision of local affairs by the state. Political machines have had little success outside of the larger urban centers. Neither of the two major parties has been able to retain its control over the state government for any extended period of time. Third parties and liberal wings of the major parties have found willing followers, and independent voting is the rule rather than the exception.

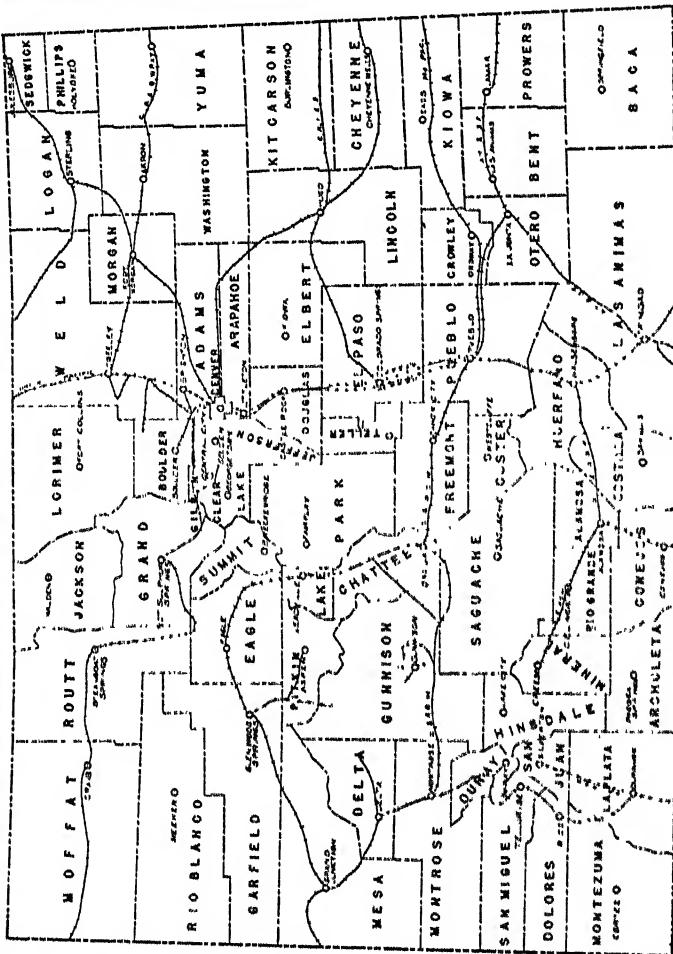
In Colorado the voters have been more than ready to experiment with reform movements in government. It was among the first of the states to adopt woman's suffrage, to use the direct primary, to use the recall against elected officials, and to use the initiative and referendum. The state uses the merit system for the selection of state employees. It has a liberal provision in its constitution for home rule of cities, and the preferential system of voting has been used in several communities. The state provides for the highest pension to the aged in the United States. At one time the people adopted a law providing for the recall of judicial decisions, which was later declared unconstitutional.

The state is one of the most interesting political laboratories in the United States. There have been few reforms proposed in the field of government which have not been tried within the state in some form or another. The fact that many of them have not been successful, and that some have been repealed, has in no degree discouraged the reformers or dampened the spirit of the people. A reform in the field of government has a better chance of being adopted in Colorado than in most other commonwealths.

PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS

The physical features of any governmental unit will to some degree influence its politics. The geography of Colorado has had more influence upon her politics than is true of many of the other states. The state is rectangular in shape. It is located about half way between the north and south boundaries of the United States, and about twice the distance from the eastern boundary than from the western.

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The distance across the state from east to west is 387 miles, and from north to south 276 miles. While Colorado has a total area of 103,948 square miles, which ranks it seventh in size among all the states, it has only a total of 290 square miles of water.

In area the state is more than twelve times the size of Massachusetts, is nearly twice as large as Iowa, and is about the same size as New York, Ohio, Connecticut, and New Hampshire combined. In comparison with European countries it is about half as large as France or Germany, and about twice as large as England. The largest county in the state, Las Animas, with an area of 4,809 square miles, is about four times as large as Rhode Island, or about the same size as Connecticut.

The mean altitude of the state is 6,800 feet, the highest in the Union. The most elevated portions of the Rocky Mountains are in Colorado. Forty-nine peaks tower more than 14,000 feet above sea level, and more than a thousand peaks have an altitude of over 10,000 feet. The highest point is Mount Elbert, with an elevation of 14,431 feet, and the world's highest highway ascends Mount Evans.

The eastern part of the state consists largely of gently rolling plains which rise gradually as they approach the mountains. The southeastern part of the state is on the outer rim of the "great dust bowl." In this region, since there are no transportation difficulties, county boundary lines are regular.

The plains of the east abruptly run into the mountains at about the center of the state. The Continental divide, which separates the watershed of the Pacific Ocean and the Gulf of Mexico, runs through the west-central part of the state in a general north-south direction, and forms the crest of the continent. In the west-central part of the state the counties are irregular in shape and small in area. Road building is difficult and it is often necessary to travel fifty or seventy-five miles to get to a point only a few miles away as the crow flies. Mountain ranges, very difficult to cross, weld the people of a geographic area into a very definite

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political unit. In the western part of the state is a system of plateaus, or mesas, descending toward the Utah desert. Of these, the larger are the Roan, or Book plateau, between the Colorado and the White rivers, the Grand and Battlement mesas between the Colorado and the Gunnison rivers, and the Uncompahgre plateau between the Gunnison and the Dolores rivers. The mountain and the higher portions of the mesas tend to be heavily wooded. Toward the west the vegetation decreases, and the land near the Utah border, when not irrigated, is practically a desert.

No general statement can be given which will describe the climate of Colorado. On the eastern plains the rainfall is light, the humidity low, and extreme temperatures are pronounced. The change from day to day is often great. The wind movement is high, and the sunshine abundant. The summer days are hot with cool nights. In the foothills, there is little wind and less marked daily change in temperature, and it is warmer in the winter. In the mountains, there is a decrease in temperature and an increase in rainfall, but local conditions modify this greatly. At the summits of mountains the mean temperature averages 32 degrees for the year. The record for forty-eight years shows a mean temperature for the state of 54 degrees, with an all time high of 115 degrees and a low of 45 degrees below zero. There is a difference of 35 degrees between Lamar, in the plains region, and the summit of Pike's peak.

Colorado has more than her share of sunshine. A record covering sixty-six years shows that in Denver the sky is clear on an average of 149 days out of every year, and is cloudy but 64 days. The other 152 days were recorded as partly cloudy. The same report gives the average maximum temperature at 62.9 degrees, the minimum at 37.6 degrees, an average of 50.3 degrees.

The average annual rainfall for Denver is 14.06 inches, and that of the whole state 16.62 inches. Humidity in Colorado is low. Relative humidity at Denver over a period of fifteen years averages 39 per cent. This may be compared with 73 per cent in Buffalo, and 63 per cent in Chicago.

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The climate of the state is so pleasant that one of the large daily newspapers each day reminds its readers, "It is a pleasure to live in Colorado."

Colorado is sometimes referred to as the Mother of Rivers. The Colorado river, after which the state is named, has its origin in the north central part of the state. It flows into Utah and northern Arizona, and becomes the boundary of Arizona on the west. Because of the arid land through which it flows, several controversies have arisen over the disposal of its waters. The Rio Grande, so important to New Mexico and Texas, has its origin in the southern part of the state. The Arkansas and its tributaries drain the southeastern part of the state, while the South Platte and the Republican are in the northeastern part. Colorado has entered into several compacts with the neighboring states, which deal with the distribution of the waters of these rivers.

ECONOMIC FACTORS

Economic factors influence modern politics much more than geographic factors. Around the various economic groups are organized the political pressure groups of the state. The platforms of the major parties are for the most part centered on the economic interests. While it will not be possible to discuss all of the economic interests within the state, some of the more important ones will be given consideration.

The early history of Colorado was built upon the mining industry, and mining still plays an important part. A total of about two and a half billion dollars of minerals have been taken from the state. It is estimated that about \$150,000,-000 are invested in mining at the present time. Over a period of thirty years the state has produced annually \$57,489,794 worth of minerals. Statistics compiled by the United States Bureau of Internal Revenue show a total of 1,070 corporations engaged in mining and quarrying, and about seventeen thousand persons thus employed.

Much of the labor legislation in the state has had to do with the problem of miners and mining. The miners are the

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best organized group of laborers in the state, and have used politics frequently to gain their ends. The most serious labor disputes have been in this field. On several such occasions the governor has had to call out the state militia to aid a settlement. Policies of the governors on mining questions have at times been the principal issues in state elections. In the political relation of Colorado to the rest of the nation, mining has played a more important role than any other single factor. Dissatisfaction with the stand of the major parties on coinage was partly responsible for the formation of the Populist party which controlled the state for one administration. The stand of the Republican party on the same question resulted in Colorado voting for Bryan in 1896 by more than six to one.

Colorado has made rapid progress in the field of agriculture. The total value of crops for the year 1938 was estimated at \$68,398,000. The acreage for 1939 was 4,900,000, more than a million acres less than for the year 1938. The principal crops included 14,000,000 bushels of potatoes; 1,539,000 tons of sugar beets, the largest yield since 1922; beans yielded 1,360,000 one-hundred-pound bags. The wheat crop amounted to 12,217,000 bushels, as compared to over 19,000,000 bushels in 1938. Corn production amounted to 8,043,000, about 7,000,000 bushels below the ten-year average. Oat production amounted to 4,205,000 bushels; and sorghums 437,000 bushels, less than half the yield of the previous year; 1,537,000 tons of hay were produced and 1,100,000 bushels of fruit. While the total production and acreage of 1939 was much below that of 1938, the total value of the crop amounted to more than \$2,000,000 above that of 1938.

The increase of agriculture in the state has been due to the fact that additional land was put under irrigation. F. K. Reed, statistician for the agriculture marketing service, reports that in 1939 "approximately 3,400,000 acres are irrigated in the state." Colorado is second only to California in the extent of its irrigation farm areas.

The introduction of the sugar beet crop promoted the

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development of irrigation. Sugar beets, like potatoes, require irrigation in the late summer when the natural streams are running low. In 1901, the general assembly passed the district irrigation law. This authorized landowners to establish irrigation districts, the joint purchase of canal systems, and the construction of reservoirs and ditches for the irrigation of their land. These districts are authorized to issue bonds, and to levy a tax on the land to pay interest and principal. Most of the older irrigation projects were financed by outside capital, but they suffered reverses during the nineties and are now in the hands of the owners of the land they serve.

The first large reservoirs were built in the Greeley-Fort Collins region. In the Arkansas valley the Great Plains storage system, with a capacity of about 300,000 acre-feet, was started in the nineties. Perhaps the most famous irrigation project on the western slope is the Gunnison tunnel, six miles in length, which carries water from the Gunnison river to irrigate the upper Uncompahgre valley. For this project the legislature appropriated \$25,000. The system provides water for about 80,000 acres, and cost about \$6,700,000.

The Grand valley reclamation project is in Mesa county near Grand Junction. It cost about \$5,000,000, and irrigates approximately 45,000 acres. The most ambitious of all irrigation projects is the Colorado-Big Thompson. This diversion project will bring water from the western slope to northeastern Colorado. It is a federal undertaking, and was approved by President Roosevelt on December 27, 1937. The estimated cost is \$44,000,000, of which \$20,000,000 is for irrigation and \$24,000,000 for power development. When completed the six plants will develop 360,000,000 k.w.h. of firm power and 200,000,000 k.w.h. of secondary power annually.

In recent years, the state has become an important manufacturing center. The returns from this industry amounted to \$250,000,000 in 1939. Manufacturing has

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enjoyed a constant growth and today surpasses both mining and agriculture.

One of the oldest and most important industries in the state is meat packing, with centers in Denver and Pueblo. These cities possess a great natural advantage, being located in the center of a rich grazing area. Livestock is shipped into these centers from all of the Rocky Mountain region. Most of the large packing plants have branches in Denver, including Swift and Company, Armour and Company, and Cudahy. Besides these, numerous independent companies operate. The output of the industry is estimated in excess of \$30,000,000 annually. More sheep are slaughtered in Denver than in any other city in the country. In 1938, the number was 3,100,000.

Colorado ranks first among the states in the production of beet sugar, the total value of which amounts to over \$40,000,000 annually. The beet sugar factories are located in the smaller towns in the area where the beets are produced. These plants, which are owned by large corporations, play an important part in the politics of the state. In several of the counties they represent the largest economic interest, and they take an active part in local elections. In state politics there have been several controversies over the question of bringing Spanish-American laborers into the state for employment in the sugar beet industry. This industry has also been active in national politics in keeping the tariff on sugar high.

Important steel mills, with an annual output valued at about \$10,000,000, are located in Pueblo. This city is almost entirely dependent upon this one industry for its economic prosperity. These mills have been the scene of some of the most serious labor difficulties the state has known. Denver is the center for the manufacture of heavy mining machinery, much of which is exported to foreign countries.

The manufacturing within the state is centralized within a small area. As would be expected, Denver leads with six hundred establishments employing about twelve thousand workers, and with an annual payroll of over \$13,-

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000,000. The products are valued at about \$100,000,000 annually. Pueblo ranks second, employing about four thousand workers and having an annual payroll of nearly \$4,000,000, producing about \$24,000,000 of products. In eight of the counties no manufacturing is carried on, and twenty-six other counties have fewer than ten manufacturing establishments.

As has been true of all the states in the Rocky Mountain region, railroads have played an important part in the political life of the state. It was a serious blow to Colorado when the Union Pacific, in 1867, on its way to the coast, completely missed Colorado and passed through southern Wyoming. Many felt that Cheyenne was the coming city of the West, and moved there.

Prospects in Denver were low. Property values were on the decline and people were rapidly leaving the city. Unable to induce any established line to come into Denver, the citizens organized the Denver Pacific Railroad Company to build a branch from Cheyenne to Denver. Stock was sold, and \$225,000 was subscribed in a single day. Arapahoe county, in which Denver was then located, voted \$500,000 in bonds. Construction of the line started in May, 1868, and it was completed on June 24, 1870.

Other lines were quick to follow. In August, 1870, the Kansas Pacific Railroad Company completed its tracks into Denver. On that day the company established the record of having laid ten and a half miles of track in ten hours. By 1872 the Colorado Central had built their road up the Clear Creek canyon to Black Hawk, thus opening up the great gold mining area around Central City. The Denver and Rio Grande, south to Colorado City (now Colorado Springs) and to Pueblo and ultimately to El Paso, Texas, and finally into Mexico, was started in 1870, reaching Pueblo in 1872. The railroad had a remarkable effect on the little village of Pueblo, whose population increased from 700 in 1870 to 2,500 in 1875.

The Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe, known as the Santa Fe, was organized in 1859. It confronted financial

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difficulties and did not reach Pueblo until 1876, but was destined to play an important role in the economic and political life of the state. Numerous other lines were started or planned, some never to be completed.

Due to the fact that much of the state is mountainous, all sections are not adequately provided with railroad facilities. However, every one of the sixty-three counties do have some railroad mileage. The state has thirty railroad and terminal companies, with a total of 4,874 miles of track. The Denver and Rio Grande Western railroad has 1,364 miles, more than one-fourth of the total. Second is the Colorado and Southern, with 690 miles, followed by the Union Pacific, with 602 miles and the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe, with 527 miles of track. The remaining twenty-six roads each have less than forty miles of track. These short lines were built to supply the needs of mining communities, and are of little importance to the economic welfare of the state at present. The total assessed value of all the railroads in the state is placed at \$146,835,000.

Two main lines of railroads cross the mountains. The Denver Rio Grande follows the Arkansas river through the Royal Gorge. The Denver and Salt Lake runs directly west from Denver through the main range of the Rockies. The difficulty with railroad construction is well illustrated by this road. In a distance of 232 miles from Denver to Craig, it goes through fifty-two tunnels, including the famous Moffat, which is 6.4 miles in length.

Ninety telephone companies operate in the state, owning an aggregate of 527,808 miles of wire. Most of the companies are small, but one company owns and operates more than 95 per cent of the total mileage. Four telegraph companies operate 29,580 miles of wire. These utility companies have, in the past, been interested in politics, and have spent money to maintain lobbies in the legislature.

One of the most important industries, and one that promises much for the future, is the tourist trade. It is estimated that in 1939 about 1,400,000 people visited the state, and spent approximately \$50,000,000 within the state.

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The typical visitor spends on an average of ten days while visiting Colorado. He comes by automobile, establishes himself in one of the larger cities or in a resort town, and visits the nearby points of interest. An increasing number own or rent cabins in the mountains and remain for several weeks during the summer. A good many Colorado communities exist only to supply the needs of the tourists; for examples, Estes Park, Grand Lake, and Evergreen, near Denver, and Manitou Springs, near Colorado Springs.

In addition to having gorgeous mountain scenery, Colorado is also a sportsman's paradise. In 1939, a total of 150,435 hunting and fishing licenses were sold, or about one for every three males over the age of fourteen. The deer herd is estimated at 150,000 and is increasing at the rate of about forty thousand a year. In 1939, 16,000 bucks were killed; every other person who bought a license made a kill. The elk herd now numbers over 35,000, and the antelope have increased from 1,000 head to 5,000 in the last few years. The state has over six thousand miles of trout streams in addition to hundreds of lakes. In 1939, over ten and a half million fish were hatched and placed in the streams.

Politically the tourist trade affects the state only indirectly, as it adds to the total income of those living within the state. The job of advertising the state to the tourist has not been very well done. Most of the money spent for this purpose has been raised and spent by local communities, although pressure is brought upon the state legislature and city councils to make contributions. Those who favor the spending of public money to advertise the state point out that the income from the tourist, while almost equal to the income from mining, requires but a small capital investment.

Another source of considerable income to the state results from the location of numerous federal agencies in Denver. About sixteen thousand federal employees, many with their families, are located in Denver. The city is often referred to as the "second capital." Among the many federal agencies are the Mint, Fort Logan, the Lowery Air School, Fitzsimons Hospital, the Customs Office, a branch of the

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Bureau of Criminal Identification, and a new prison farm, being constructed a few miles from Denver. The income of these federal workers is above that of the average citizen, and they add several million dollars to the state's total income.

THE PEOPLE OF COLORADO

To study the politics of a state it is necessary to understand something of the people who live within it. The 1930 census places the population of Colorado at 1,035,791, an increase of 10.2 per cent over the 1920 figures. Reliable authorities estimate that the 1940 census will give the state about 1,070,000. The state had a remarkable growth between 1870 and 1900, after which it settled down to a constant growth somewhat less than that for the country as a whole. In the last two decades the urban population has increased much more rapidly than the rural population, and in 1930 it was nearly equally divided, 50.2 per cent being rural and 49.8 per cent urban. Of the 35,000 increase expected during the last ten years, fully 20,000 of the increase will be in the city of Denver. The male population of the state still out-numbers the female by 105.1 to 100. This difference is not as great as it was in the past; for example in 1900 there were 120 males to each 100 females.

The density of population for the state as a whole is 10 per square mile. This is far from an accurate picture of the situation. The density in thirty of the sixty-three counties is under five to the square mile, and in five counties under one. One county, Hinsdale, has a density of but .05 and a total population of but 449. Within the state the population has been a shifting one. Several cities that at one time had populations of twenty or thirty thousand have dwindled down to mere villages of a few hundred people. The population is greatly centralized. Fifty-seven per cent of all the people are to be found in eight of the counties located just east of the mountains. This area is by far the most desirable, having the best agricultural lands and the larger cities. More than half the population of Colorado lives less than seventy-five miles from the state capital building.

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The population of the state is homogeneous. Eighty-five per cent are native born. The Spanish-Americans make up the largest minority group with 5.6 per cent of the entire population. These people are to be found in greatest numbers in the southern tier of counties and in that part of the state where sugar beets are grown. Outside of a few southern counties the influence of these people in politics is negligible.

The second largest minority group is the Negro group. This race totals 11,828 or only 1.1 per cent of the population. Of this number, 7,200 are in Denver, and 1,300 in Pueblo. In neither city are they important politically. There are in the state 3,466 Orientals, of which 3,213 are Japanese. This race is located chiefly in four counties. Those in the rural areas are concerned either with truck farming or the melon industry. Most of these are in Adams county, which joins Denver on the north, and are engaged in supplying Denver with vegetables. The state has 1,395 Indians. Neither of these groups displays any interest in politics.

Of the native-born whites living in Colorado 62.5 per cent were born in the state, and 37.5 in other states. The middle western states have furnished by far the greatest numbers. Missouri and Kansas lead, each having more than sixty thousand of their native sons in Colorado. Iowa, Nebraska, and Illinois each have contributed more than forty thousand people to the state. There has been little movement from the other Rocky Mountain states into Colorado, except from New Mexico, which has contributed 27,000 people, most of them Spanish-Americans.

Of the foreign-born whites, numbering 85,406, 24.2 per cent have come from Great Britain or her possessions. Of the others, 15 per cent were born in Russia, 12.5 per cent in Italy. Of these foreign-born whites 82,760 are over twenty-one years of age and eligible to be naturalized. Of this number 68.6 per cent have become citizens and another 7 per cent have taken out first papers. The number of unnaturalized alien whites within the state is being gradually decreased. This is due partly to the fact that very few aliens

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are coming in now, and partly to the fact that there is a greater incentive now to become a citizen. Old age pensions are granted only to citizens, and only citizens are given work on public projects. In recent times many aged applicants for citizenship have been denied on the ground that they were attempting to secure their citizenship only to be eligible for the pension.

There are 402,867 persons over the age of ten years gainfully employed. As is common with other states the number of women gainfully employed has been increasing. Twenty-six per cent of all persons now employed are in agriculture. Manufacturing and mechanical industry ranks second with 19 per cent; this is followed by trade with 13.6 per cent, and domestic and personal service with 10.2 per cent. Professional services, including lawyers, doctors, teachers, etc., employ 8.3 per cent of those gainfully occupied.

Religion plays but a small part in Colorado politics. The state has a total of 352,863 church members. Of these, 35 per cent are Catholic. There have been no religious controversies within the state.

Illiteracy within the state is low. It is estimated that there are only 23,141 people over the age of ten who cannot read and write. This is but 2.8 per cent of the total population, a decrease from 3.2 since 1920. Illiteracy is lowest among the native-born whites, being but 1 per cent, and highest among the foreign-born whites, where it is 8.6 per cent. It is lower in the urban than the rural communities, being but 1.9 per cent in the former as compared to 3.7 per cent in the latter. Illiteracy is highest in the southern part of the state where there is a larger number of Spanish-Americans. In Costilla county, where 22 per cent of the people belong to that group, the illiteracy rate is the highest in the state, being 12.7 per cent. It is especially low in the mining counties and in those agricultural sections where no sugar beets are produced.

The means for the formation and expression of public opinion in Colorado are adequate. Thirty-three daily newspapers are published with a circulation of 324,314. The

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number of daily papers and their circulation has remained reasonably constant since 1920. In addition to the above, there are seven Sunday papers with a circulation of 404,806, and 121 weekly newspapers having 185,472 subscribers.

The newspaper in the state which wields the greatest influence, and which has nearly one-third of the total circulation of all the daily newspapers, is the *Denver Post*. This paper has been published for over forty-eight years and has played an important part in every election. Its interest has been both in the politics of the state and of the city. While in theory it is a non-partisan paper, it has usually sided with the Republican party. Because it has been involved in so many political controversies, it is looked upon with suspicion by many people. Being inclined toward the sensational school of journalism, it plays up personalities and relatively small incidents.

The *Rocky Mountain News* is an older Denver paper, having been established in 1860 as a daily. It is now a Scripps-Howard paper but has not been able to build up a very large circulation. It is more rational in its editorial policy than the *Post* and is considered reliable. The influence of the weekly newspapers has been largely in town and county politics.

The state has fourteen licensed broadcasting stations. Eight of them operate on unlimited time. Six of the stations are located in Denver. Of the fourteen stations, six are small, having power of but 100 watts; four of the stations operate with 500 watts. The station KFKA of Greely, KVOD and KFEL of Denver, and the one at Colorado Springs, KVOR, operate on 1,000 watts. KLZ of Denver operates on 5,000 watts. The most powerful station in the state, and one of the most powerful in the country, is station KOA of Denver, with 50,000 watts.

As is true of all broadcasting, the Colorado stations do not take sides in political controversies. During the political campaigns, radio time is used extensively by the parties, by the individual candidates, and by groups who are advocating the passage or defeat of measures before the people.

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EDUCATION

Education in Colorado has gone through much the same difficulties encountered by the other western states. The framers of the state constitution, anxious to provide educational privileges for its people, wrote into that document that the general assembly should provide for a system of free public schools where all residents of the state "between the ages of six and twenty-one years, may be educated gratuitously."¹ They likewise provided that the "general assembly may require, by law, that every child of sufficient mental and physical ability, shall attend the public school during the period between the age of six and eighteen years, for a time equivalent to three years, unless educated by other means."²

The constitution likewise provided for the creation of a state university and other institutions of higher learning, and established methods for their maintenance and control.

The total annual cost of all education in the state is about twenty-eight million dollars. The investment including land, buildings, libraries, and equipment is approximately ninety-five million dollars. The cost of the public school system alone in 1936 was \$21,538,623.

The enrollment in all standard educational institutions of the state for the regular school year of 1936-1937 was 282,826, or 26 per cent of the total population. The total number of instructors in all schools was 10,973, an average of 25.8 pupils for every teacher.

The distribution of pupils and teachers for that year was as follows:

	Pupils	Teachers
Public Schools	254,565	9,503
State Colleges and University	8,849	619
Private Colleges and University	5,558	346
Parochial Schools	13,854	505

The cost per pupil in the public schools of the state was \$90.96 in 1936. Of this amount \$84.01 was spent for current expenses and \$6.95 for interest. In the cost per student

1. Colorado Constitution, Art. IX, Sec. 2.

2. *Ibid.*, Sec. 11.

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Colorado stands well toward the top of the states in the Union. The average for the United States is \$73.58; thus only eleven states spend more per student than Colorado.

The largest of the educational institutions in the state is the state university. It is located at Boulder, some thirty miles northwest of Denver. This institution was created by legislation in 1861, but it was not until September, 1877, that it first opened its doors, with two teachers and forty-four students. The institution, like others of its kind, has developed rapidly during the last decade. The regents are elected by popular vote, one going out of office every two years. The school is financed by appropriations from the legislature, by income from students, and by one-fifth of a mill levy on all property within the state. This provision is in the constitution and gives the educational institutions some security from the legislature. In recent years the revenues have not kept pace with the increased number of students.

The agriculture college is located at Fort Collins. Part of its revenue comes from the federal government. It is administered by a board appointed by the governor. The Fort Lewis school likewise offers work in the field of agriculture.

The state has three institutions for the training of teachers. The teachers college at Greeley is by far the largest and best equipped. Teacher training work is also offered at the agriculture college, the state university, and at Denver University and Colorado College.

The state is well supplied with institutions of higher learning. They are reasonably free from politics, since the constitution provides for a one-mill levy on all property, which goes toward the support of higher educational institutions. While this sum is not adequate for their needs, when it is supplemented with the fees collected from students and income from their lands, it is not necessary for the legislature to make any very large appropriations.

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POLITICAL PARTIES AND PRESSURE POLITICS

Colorado cannot be called a "sure" state. It has frequently been said that any person or any party has a chance of being elected, and it is common to find the state and local officials divided between the major parties of the state. Outside of a few counties the population of the local units is so small that the candidate is able to visit every voter in his district, and the vote in local elections tends to be for the man rather than for the party.

The independence of the voter in the state is evident in the development of third parties, and of pressure groups. In few states in the Union have such organizations been able to find a more eager group of followers. The independence in politics has been due, in part, to two factors. First, in any frontier society the emphasis is upon the man, rather than upon the organization or party with which he is affiliated. Second, the issues of the two major parties on national problems are, for the most part, not related to the local situation. While the members to Congress from Colorado carry the Republican or Democratic label, they are not always in harmony with the general policies of their party.

Suffrage qualifications do not differ greatly from those found in other states. Citizenship has always been a requirement. There are formal educational qualifications, requiring that the elector be able to read and write, but they are generally ignored. Resident qualifications are less rigid than are usually found. The voter must reside for one year in the state, ninety days in the county, ten days in the voting precinct, and must be at least twenty-one years of age.

The state has a permanent registration system. Having registered, the voter's name remains on the list as long as he resides in the voting precinct, and continues to vote in the general election. Permanent registration boards are maintained and the voter is privileged to register at any time. For the convenience of the voter, registration boards meet at each polling place on specified days prior to the election. The state permits absentee voting in all elections.

The Colorado voter is not consistent in his party habits.

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Since the state was admitted into the Union, it has taken part in fifteen presidential elections, seven of which were Republican victories and eight were won by the Democratic candidate. Nor have the voters been any more consistent in the election of their own local officials. Thirteen Republican governors have been elected, twelve Democratic governors, and one Populist. In the sixty-four years of statehood the Republicans have controlled the office of governor thirty years, the Democratic party thirty-two years, and the Populist two years. Like other states, Colorado tends to vote for the same party for governor as it does for president. In twelve of the fifteen presidential elections, the same party won both the office of governor and that of president.

To a large degree, the voters of Colorado reflect the general trends of the nation. In the fifteen presidential elections in which the citizens of Colorado have participated, they have been with the winning side twelve times. It can well be said that as Colorado goes so goes the nation. Only on three occasions has she voted for the losing presidential candidate, but not a single time in the last thirty-eight years.

The influence of the personal element is evident in local elections. In each of the sixty-two counties, the city and county of Denver being excluded from the study, there are eleven elective officials. Of this list of about seven hundred officials who took office in January, 1939, 364 were Democrats and 322 were Republicans, despite the fact that the state elected a Republican governor in that election by a vote of 246,000 to 193,000. There were only three of the counties in which all of the county officers belonged to the same party.

The division between the two parties in the state offices and in Congress has also been fairly equal. Of the twenty-eight individuals who have represented the state in the House of Representatives, fourteen have been Republicans, thirteen Democrats, and one belonged to the Populist party. Of the twenty-three United States senators, there have been thirteen Republicans and nine Democrats. One senator, Henry M. Teller, had the distinction of being elected by both

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major parties. Few states have had a more equal distribution among their elected officials.

While the Colorado voter is independent in his party affiliations, he is not a very regular voter in attending elections. The vote in school and municipal elections is always small. The number who vote in local elections depends upon the issues before the people. Since county and state elections are held at the same time, the vote is usually about the same in each. The vote on legislative measures and on constitutional amendments varies greatly, even within the same election. Indeed it is not at all uncommon for the vote on certain referred measures to exceed the vote cast for governor.

A study of the vote in the state shows several interesting developments. The vote in years when there is a presidential election is about 7 per cent above that of years when only state officers are elected. It is also observed that the total vote cast, in proportion to the total population, has gradually been increasing. This increase has been from about 70 per cent at the turn of the century, to about 90 per cent in the last two elections. The vote in the off-years has increased from about 60 per cent of the qualified voters, to about 80 per cent. In other words, today about 20 per cent more of the qualified voters go to the polls than went forty years ago.

These changes are due, in part, to two factors. First, there is a greater general interest now in the affairs of the government than formerly. The state has become more concerned with economic problems, and such matters as labor policies, old age pensions, and direct relief have a wide appeal. In the second place, a larger number of the inhabitants of the state are qualified voters. While the state was growing rapidly there were many people who were not citizens or who had not satisfied the resident qualifications. Such is not the case today.

The organization in Colorado of both major parties closely follows that in other states. At the bottom is the precinct committee, headed by the committeeman. This committee is elected at the primary election, but there is no

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real contest over the positions. The precinct caucus is very poorly attended; often not more than five or six are present.

The county committee plays an important part in the politics of the county. The members are elected at the primaries, but due to the indifference of the voters, they are, in reality, selected by this committee. The county chairman is usually the outstanding politician of his party in the county. Major political battles are waged over this position. His influence in county politics depends largely upon his personality, and his ability to dominate the party organization. County chairmen vary greatly, ranging all the way from the indifferent individual who displays only mild interest in politics at election time to the real political boss who is on duty continuously.

The work of the county committee falls into several major divisions. The most essential work is done during the period when an election is being held. It plays a decisive part in the selection of candidates for county offices. While it is true that the nominations are made by the direct primaries, yet the man who does not have support of the county committee does not have much of a chance of securing the nomination. Therefore, those who desire a county office go first to the county chairman. He is interested in three things. First, is the aspirant able to pay his share of the campaign expenses; second, would he be an asset to the party ticket and secure a heavy vote in the part of the county in which he lives; and third, what kind of an officer would he make if elected? From a party point of view, all these considerations are serious. In order to have a balanced ticket, the county committee tries to have its candidates from different parts of the county.

A second part of the work of the county committee is to raise funds to conduct the campaign within the county. These funds must be raised locally since little financial support comes from the state central committee. The most reliable source of such funds is from those who are seeking office. The policy of both parties is to levy an assessment of 10 per cent of the annual salary on each candidate. Con-

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tributions are also secured from those who expect to be appointed deputies or given clerical positions. Some money is secured from the firms that do business with the county. A number of concerns make regular contributions to both the major parties. Additional funds are sometimes secured from friends of the candidates and members of the county committee.

The third important function of the county committee is to conduct the campaign within the county. It distributes campaign literature, most of which comes from the state central committee. It arranges for several rallies, which are usually held in the smaller towns. Often the speakers at these rallies are those seeking state offices. The candidates for county offices appear on the platform, but rarely speak. A very important part of the work of the committee-men is making personal calls upon all those living in their neighborhoods. The wise county chairman knows that more elections are won by personal contact than by speeches or campaign literature.

After the election is over, and if it is successful, the county committee concerns itself with bestowing rewards upon deserving party members. In some counties all deputies must have the endorsement of the committee. It may even dictate to the assessor whom he may appoint as field deputies. Party members who are seeking either state or federal political appointments must secure the endorsement of the county committee. In short, this committee is the backbone of Colorado politics.

The state central committee is to the state what the county committee is to the county. It collects money and has the responsibility of conducting the campaign. The chairmanship is much sought after by politicians and is considered one of the highest of political rewards.

Nominations in Colorado are made by the direct primary. The names of the candidates are placed upon the ballot by petition. Both parties, however, hold state conventions where they endorse candidates. Such an endorsement of a candidate by this extra legal convention virtually

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amounts to securing the nomination. Once a candidate is endorsed, the party organization assists in the circulation of petitions, and aids the candidate in various ways. It is generally expected that the candidate will finance his own campaign in the primaries.

Among the more active pressure groups in the state are the old age pension group, the agriculture and mining interests, the liquor interests, the financial interests, organized labor, and the educational bloc. It is not possible to discuss all of these, but since the methods of all are quite similar, a rather complete description will be given of the organization and methods used by the Colorado Educational Association.

The Colorado Educational Association is one of the best organized and most effective pressure groups in the state. The association was organized in 1875, one year before the state was admitted into the Union, and is the only surviving charter member of the original national association. For many years it was without political power and without a great deal of respect, either within or without the profession. Only a small per cent of the profession were members. The officers were unpaid and had neither the time nor the funds to greatly influence the government.

Today the situation is quite different. The association has nearly ten thousand members, each paying an annual membership fee of three dollars. It has an executive secretary receiving a salary of \$5,000 annually, an assistant executive secretary at \$2,500, and several full time clerks.

The budget of the association is sufficiently large to permit it to carry on an active legislative program. In addition to the money received in dues, which amounts to about \$30,000, additional funds, when there is an important legislative struggle, come from gifts (book companies chiefly), other professional educational societies, sale of mailing lists, and donations. This brings the total budget to something over \$35,000. The largest amount spent in attempting to secure legislation was about \$15,000 in 1936, when the income tax was before the legislature.

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The association has been instrumental in securing the passage of several important measures pertaining to education. Among the more important is the teacher tenure law, which prohibits the dismissal without reason of teachers in districts with a population of over twenty thousand. The minimum salary law, another law backed by the association, fixes the pay of teachers from \$75 to \$100 a month, depending upon the training of the teacher. The income tax amendment vested with the legislature the power to levy an income tax. The greater part of the tax, or 65 per cent, is returned to the local school districts. This state aid helps to reduce local taxes on real and personal property.

The association functions much as any other organized pressure group. However, it is honest and open both in its methods and its objectives. Leadership is in the hands of a very small portion of the members. The average teacher knows little or nothing of the political work of the association and would dispute the statement that he was affiliated with a well organized pressure group.

The publication of the association, the *Colorado Teacher*, is largely educational in nature. Only in rare cases does it present the political views of the association. The political policies are formulated by the officers and the legislative committee. After the policies are formulated and the procedure agreed upon, the officials select certain key men in various parts of the state. These men are selected because of their geographical location, their ability to make personal contacts, their willingness to coöperate in the program of the association, and their individual ability. Most of them are superintendents of the schools of the larger centers, men who have the time to devote to the program.

These men are valuable in collecting and spreading information. When the educational lobby has gone as far as is possible and has not yet gained its objectives in the legislature, the key men may be called upon to get influential citizens in their districts to influence their legislators.

A good example of the effectiveness of this system occurred during the last session of the legislature. The edu-

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cational lobby had done everything it could to get a certain bill pertaining to the retirement of teachers at the age of sixty-five out of the committee, and had failed. The date of adjournment had been set, and it appeared the bill would die in the committee. One of the secretaries appealed to a key man, well known and influential in his community, who, in turn, called upon the county chairman of the Republican party. The chairman wired the speaker of the house asking that the bill be reported out. The request, coming from a prominent and influential politician in the party, was granted. The bill, upon being reported to the legislature, was passed.

During the period when the legislature is in session, the association maintains an active lobby. Its affairs are directed by the executive secretary, who has a wide acquaintance among the politicians and understands political procedure. His work is supplemented by a lobbyist representing the Denver school system.

The association, knowing that strength is in numbers, coöperates with other groups with similar objectives. Much of its strength comes from its close coöperation with the Parent Teachers Association. This organization started in Colorado and now has a state membership of fifty thousand. The association gives financial aid to its publication, *Schools*. Meetings of the association are held in school houses and are concerned with school problems. Teachers take an active part in the programs and often provide the leadership. When important legislative problems are before the legislature or the people, the association meetings provide an open forum to discuss the issues.

Some fourteen organizations with related objectives, have been brought together by the Colorado Educational Association into the League for Constructive Legislation. Among others, are The Farmers Union, The Grange, The American Federation of Labor, The American Association of University Women, The League of Women Voters, and Phi Delta Kappa (educational fraternity).

This league holds meetings, discusses objectives, and

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plans its campaign. Before the league can take a stand on a problem a unanimous vote of the representatives of the several organizations is necessary. It might appear that such a rule would render the league powerless; such, however, has not been the case, and it has functioned effectively in several political battles. In 1936, the league aided in the defeat of an amendment to limit taxes, in defeating an amendment limiting the income tax to 6 per cent, and aided in the passage of a general income amendment. It has already agreed to work for the return of 65 per cent of the income tax to the schools in the 1940 session of the legislature.

The league, in addition to influencing members of its own organization, circulates literature among other groups. The pamphlets it publishes are popularly written and are generally well planned from the political point of view.

Most of the funds necessary to finance the league come from the Colorado Educational Association. The other organizations are supposed to contribute in proportion to their ability.

The most powerful pressure group in the state at the present time, and one taken into consideration by all politicians, is the old age pension group. It actually has three organizations within the state, but for political purposes these work together. One prominent politician has estimated that each person on the pension rolls is good for ten votes. The power of this group is not so much in the money it has to spend, as it is in the willingness to work in the elections. Before each election it invites all candidates to appear before its legislative committee. Here the candidate is questioned, especially in regard to his stand on the pension question. If the candidate receives the approval of the committee, he receives the endorsement of the various old age pension groups. Failure to appear before the committee means no endorsement. In many localities it is almost impossible to win an election without the approval of this group.

The old age pensioners keep an eye on all proposed legislation. They are opposed to any increase in taxes, except

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those that will help their own cause. They have the feeling that, should taxes be increased, there might be a reaction which would result in a modification of the present Colorado pension law.

On January 1, 1940, there were 40,303 old age pensioners in the state, and very few of them neglect to cast their ballot. These pensioners represent about one-tenth of the total voting strength of the state. At the present time the state is paying over thirteen and a half million dollars annually on old age pensions, and there is not much the state can do about it, considering the voting strength of the pension group.

INITIATIVE AND REFERENDUM

Colorado is one of the many states using the initiative and referendum. These measures were adopted by constitutional amendment in 1910.

The first use of the initiative and referendum was in November, 1912, when thirty-two measures were submitted to the people. Eleven were initiated acts of which five passed, nine were proposed constitutional amendments of which three passed, and seven were referred acts of which only one was upheld. This was the greatest number of measures ever submitted to the people at one election. About 30 per cent of the measures submitted since the adoption of the initiative and referendum have been passed. Of a total of 124 measures submitted, 70 were proposed constitutional amendments, of which 33 were submitted by the legislature and 37 originated by popular petition. Thirty-eight proposed statutes were submitted by petition, of which 24 were defeated. Three legislative attempts to call constitutional conventions were defeated. Fifteen attempts have been made to nullify acts of the legislature. In only three cases has the legislature been overruled.

Perhaps the most interesting of any provision passed by the use of the initiative and referendum was the amendment of 1912 providing for the recall of judicial decisions. The amendment, however, was held void by the supreme

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court in the cases of People v. Western Union Telegraph Co. (70 Colo. 90), and People v. Max (70 Colo. 100).

After thirty years of experience with the initiative and referendum in Colorado, it is possible to make some observations as to how they have worked.

First, the initiative and referendum tend to place in the constitution matters which should be legislative. To amend the constitution becomes as easy as to enact ordinary legislation. The result is that, more and more, the legislature is restricted. Largely because of initiative measures, the Colorado legislature today has control of only about 15 per cent of the money spent by the state. For example, a sales tax is provided for by constitutional amendment; 85 per cent of the returns go into the old age pension fund. Thus, the government of the state has ceased to be flexible.

In the second place, the number of signers necessary to bring a measure before the people is so small that almost any active minority group with a little money can get the necessary signatures.

Third, the people of Colorado, as in other states using the initiative and referendum, have adopted the general policy "when in doubt vote no." This is clearly indicated by the large percentage of measures that are defeated.

Fourth, the plan gives the pressure groups a double chance. If they are not able to satisfy their desires by legislative action they turn to the initiative and referendum. This has been especially true of the liquor interests, the old age pensioners, and the chain stores. While they are not always successful, yet they force a vote.

Fifth, the voters do not always show interest in the measures submitted. A study of the votes cast for governor as compared to those cast on referred measures shows that only about 53 per cent of those voting for governor vote on proposed constitutional amendments, 38 per cent on measures referred from the legislature, and 54 per cent on initiated measures. Votes on various proposals have ranged from 94 per cent of those voting for the governor down to a mere 25 per cent.

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The cost to the state of submitting a list of measures to the people is estimated at \$20,000, and the cost of the campaign may be several times this amount.

CIVIL SERVICE IN COLORADO

On paper, Colorado has one of the best merit systems in the country. The amendment making the use of the merit system compulsory was written into the constitution by initiative and referendum, and not only establishes the principle of the system for the state but sets forth all the details of how it should be administered. The amendment provides that all employees of the state are to be selected by merit, except those who are elected, and a specific list of exemptions.

The desirability of selecting the administrative officials on the basis of merit has long been accepted by the citizens of the state, and in spite of more than thirty-two years of questionable experience, Colorado still believes in the principles of the merit system.

It is safe to say that the merit system as used in Colorado today is worse than the system of political appointment. The system has never been accepted in spirit by the politicians, and has been used merely as a means of "freezing in" their party members.

The system has long been subject to severe criticism by those who advocate good government, and by the party out of power. Affairs came to a head when, on March 23, 1939, a bill was introduced into the Republican controlled house of representatives which called for an investigation of the Civil Service Commission, of which all were Democrats. The bill was passed and a five-man committee with a Republican majority was appointed.

The committee recommended that one commissioner be impeached, and that another commissioner be asked to resign. The third member, having served but three months, was given a clean bill. The house voted unanimously to accept the report of the committee. As the regular session was drawing to a close, the governor issued a call for a special session.

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At the special session, the house appointed a board of managers to conduct the proceedings. This board was made up of three Republicans and two Democrats. Under the guidance of the board and the attorney general the house spent five days in going over the evidence submitted by the committee, and hearing witnesses who had appeared before the committee. The house, by a vote of fifty to nine, impeached one of the commissioners on six charges, and, by a vote of forty-two to seven, impeached the second commissioner on three charges.

The two impeached commissioners were tried before the Democratic-controlled senate. The witnesses who had already appeared before the house were recalled to testify. A vote of guilty or not guilty was taken upon each of the articles of impeachment. The state constitution requires a vote of two-thirds of all senators elected, or twenty-four, to convict a person on impeachment charges. The final vote showed that eleven Republicans had voted guilty and twenty-one Democrats had voted not guilty. Thus the two members of the Civil Service Commission were formally acquitted by the senate.

The above incident shows what has happened to the merit system in Colorado. The defects are not in the law but rather in the attitude of those who administer it. When new positions are created, the first appointments are provisional. Later the giving of tests "freeze in" those previously appointed. To illustrate, in 1937 there was created the State Courtesy Patrol. The first officials were provisional since the Civil Service Commission stated it had no examinations prepared that would cover these new positions. Some months later examinations were given for these positions. Every person who had received a provisional appointment passed the examination with a higher grade than those not in the service. These political appointees were then certified and given rating under the merit system.

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POLITICAL LEADERSHIP

Colorado has the two traditional major political parties. Each religiously draws up platforms, nominates candidates, conducts elections, and makes political promises. Minor parties now play but a small part in the political affairs of the state. There is a Socialist party under the leadership of Carl Whitehead, an idealist. They nominate candidates but rarely poll over a thousand votes. The Communist party is active but has only a handful of members.

There is little if any difference between the fundamental principles of the two major parties. Indeed it is doubtful if either has any principles. Neither party has a far reaching program for the development of the state. If the Democrats are in power the Republicans condemn their policies, and urge the people to change the administration, and *vice versa*. It is common for the people to elect members of both parties to the important state offices at the same election. Both parties favor the theory of reduction of taxes, and a sound administration for the state. Both parties have been unable or unwilling to make any great improvements. The important administrative functions are carried on in about the same manner regardless of the party in power. Both parties bid for the powerful voting blocks, and are quite willing to compromise their policies to gain votes. Both parties play for the support of the old age pension group, and promise full payment of pensions even though they well know that it is impossible.

Colorado has produced few great statesmen. The state as well as the nation suffered a great loss with the death of Senator Edward P. Costigan, the outstanding man the state has produced in a quarter of a century. In the sixty-four years of statehood no governor has attained prominence outside of the state.

The governor of the state at the present time is Ralph L. Carr, a Republican. He has had little political experience, this being his first elective office. He was reluctant to seek the office but was urged to do so by the business interests. His chief interest has been to balance the budget and to

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reduce taxation. Without the support of the other administrative officers, especially the executive council and the legislature, he has been able to accomplish little. The Republican party at the present time is without any real leadership.

One of the strongest leaders of the Democratic party is Edwin C. Johnson, United States senator. He served as lieutenant governor from 1931-1933, was twice elected governor, and resigned that position to go to the Senate. He has a strong position in the Democratic party outside the city of Denver. He is intensely interested in the political problems of the state, and frequently takes issue with the Republican governor on state affairs.

Dividing leadership with Senator Johnson is Colorado's senior senator, Alva B. Adams. He is the son of Alva Adams, who served three times as governor. First appointed to the Senate in 1923 following the death of Senator S. D. Nicholson, he served until 1925 when he was replaced by Rice W. Means, a Republican. He was again elected in 1932, and re-elected in 1938. He has complete domination of his party in the southern part of the state.

The state has four members in the house of representatives. Edward T. Taylor, elected in 1909 and having served continuously since that time, is one of the oldest members of that body in length of service. The three other members, Lawrence Lewis, Fred Cummings, and John A. Martin were elected in 1932, and re-elected in 1934, 1936, and 1938. The position held by John Martin is now vacant, due to his death in December, 1939. The governor has decided not to call a special election to fill the vacancy because of the expense involved. All the congressmen from the state are Democrats. The members of the lower house are important political powers only in their own congressional districts.

W. H. (Billy) Adams, who served as governor three terms (1927-1933), is still a political power in the state. His support is eagerly sought by office seekers. In more than one case Billy's support has made a campaign successful.

The powerful leader of the Democratic party in Denver is Mayor Benjamin F. Stapleton. Having served as mayor

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for several terms, he has built up a strong political machine. His influence, however, is limited to the city and county of Denver. Politically he differs with Senator Johnson as to the policy the party should follow in the state, and there have been many bitter contests between the two. A natural antagonism exists between the city of Denver and the rest of the state. The rural voter looks upon any candidate or proposal that comes from Denver with suspicion.

The following men have considerable political influence within the state: Charles D. Vail, state highway engineer; Charles M. Armstrong, who served as secretary of state from 1927-1935 and as state treasurer since then; and Homer F. Bedford, auditor of the state. Due to the Colorado law which prohibits certain officers from succeeding themselves, these men exchange positions.

REFORMS IN COLORADO

Colorado has been doing much to meet her problems by specialized studies. Perhaps the most complete study of the government of the state was made by Griffenhagen and associates, a governmental research bureau with an enviable reputation. Governor Teller Ammons was largely responsible for the study. He interested public minded citizens who assumed the responsibility of financing it. The study consumed several months, during which time several members of the association were working in the state. The report covers all aspects of the government of the state.

The chief defects of the existing government were pointed out, and proposed bills were drawn which would correct these defects. The chief subjects covered by this extensive report of several hundred pages include the office of the governor, the legislature, the administration, budget, taxes, financial accounting, and civil service.

The recommendations made by Griffenhagen were looked upon by students of government as being both reasonable and practical. Many of the changes could be made by mere statutory enactment, but other more fundamental reforms would have to come through constitutional amend-

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ment. It was, therefore, suggested that the legislature go as far as it was able and that as soon as possible the constitution be changed. Widespread interest was created throughout the state in the report, and both candidates for governor in 1938 were of the opinion that fundamental changes suggested by the report should be made.

In the 1939 session of the legislature, some of the reform measures were introduced. At once those groups affected opposed them. For example, it was proposed that the numerous "cash accounts" which had been set up by legislation should be abolished, and that all these revenues should go into the general fund to be appropriated by the legislature as it should see fit. This general idea met with approval, but each independent agency, and those citizens interested in the function it was performing, could see very good reasons why the department should be exempt from such a law. The result was that nothing at all has been accomplished.

Should the time ever arrive when those in charge of the government should seriously desire to improve the organization of the state government, they will have available a complete program. There is no indication at the present time that either of the major parties will be willing to give up the power they now possess in the interest of the general reform program.

During the past few years an organization known as the Colorado Government Research Association has been active in the study of county government. It is a taxpayers' organization patterned after a similar organization in Nebraska. It is financed chiefly by large contributions of businessmen who are interested in tax reduction.

This association goes into a county and makes a study of the expenditures of that county over a period of years. It shows what the trends of taxation have been and, especially, the increased cost of county government. It calls to the attention of the taxpayer the added cost to him of governmental services. In the second place, the association points out the outstanding variations in costs of goods and

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services to the different counties. These "audit-surveys" are made for each county studied. The reports, which include the list of expenditures made by the county, are published in mimeographed form and circulated.

Other agencies also are attempting to study the government of Colorado. Both the University of Colorado and the University of Denver have governmental research bureaus. Both have made good studies. The Sloan Foundation of Governmental Management has been established at the University of Denver. It has for its purpose the training of specialists in the field of local government. They have made some valuable studies in Utah, Wyoming, and Colorado. In connection with the Sloan Foundation, an annual conference of good government is conducted at Estes Park. Several hundred citizens and governmental officials attend this conference where local problems of government are discussed.

In addition to the above agencies there are the usual organizations of local officials, for example, law-enforcing agents, county clerks, and county assessors. These organizations really make no original research in the field of government, but they do much to improve methods and procedure. Newly elected officials are able to gain something from the older and more experienced office holders.

Chapter III

THE MYSTERY OF NEVADA

By JEANNE ELIZABETH WIER¹



Nevada was the first portion of the intermountain area to be organized as a state, and the third state to be carved out of the country lying between the Rocky Mountains and the Pacific Ocean. In this priority in the matter of governmental organization is found the reason for most of what is characteristic in the subsequent life of Nevada.

From the geographical point of view, Nevada should have been the last portion of the continental area of the United States, south of Alaska, to come into independent statehood. Lacking direct communication with either East or West, the factors of isolation and aridity combined to prevent occupation by the white man, while its plateau-like elevation, cut by a large number of parallel ranges of mountains, tended to discourage communication even within its own area.

ECONOMIC FORCES

The discovery of gold in the eastern foothills of the Sierras, as a by-product of government exploration and "the crossing" to California goldfields, brought a rancher's and miner's population to the area of Nevada. While still nominally a part of Utah territory, the sparse and scattered population struggled to attain separate territorial organization, but it was not until after the discovery of the Comstock Lode and the secession of southern states that Nevada, as a distinct and separate governmental area, came into being.

1. Parts of this chapter have been written by Mr. Graham Sanford, editor of the *Reno Evening Gazette*, and for many years a keen and understanding observer of Nevada politics. He has also given valuable criticism and advice for the chapter as a whole.

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Meanwhile other sections of the new mining country were prospected, and centers of occupation appeared in the early '60's in Esmeralda, Reese river, and Unionville areas. Sawmills, trading stations, and ranching developments brought people into Carson valley and the adjacent mountains.

Although by 1863 the population of Nevada territory had more than tripled, reaching a high of over 20,000 inhabitants, the human element was still sparse, constantly shifting and widely scattered. The economic accent was distinctly on mining, and the mining recorder was then, as always, the important local official. The fame of the silver mines might not alone have been able to call into existence a new state, but this, coupled with the political, financial, and military problems of the Civil War, threw the balance in favor of that group who were demanding, through the formation of a state government, more adequate laws, a better mining code, and relief from the corruption of the territorial judiciary. President Lincoln urged the passage of the Nevada enabling act to secure the requisite number of votes for the passage of the thirteenth amendment. A state constitution, framed at Carson City, was telegraphed to Washington at a cost of \$3,416.77 in order that the Nevada representative might vote on the thirteenth amendment. On All Saint's Day, in 1864, for better or for worse, the "Washoe country" assumed the responsibilities of statehood.

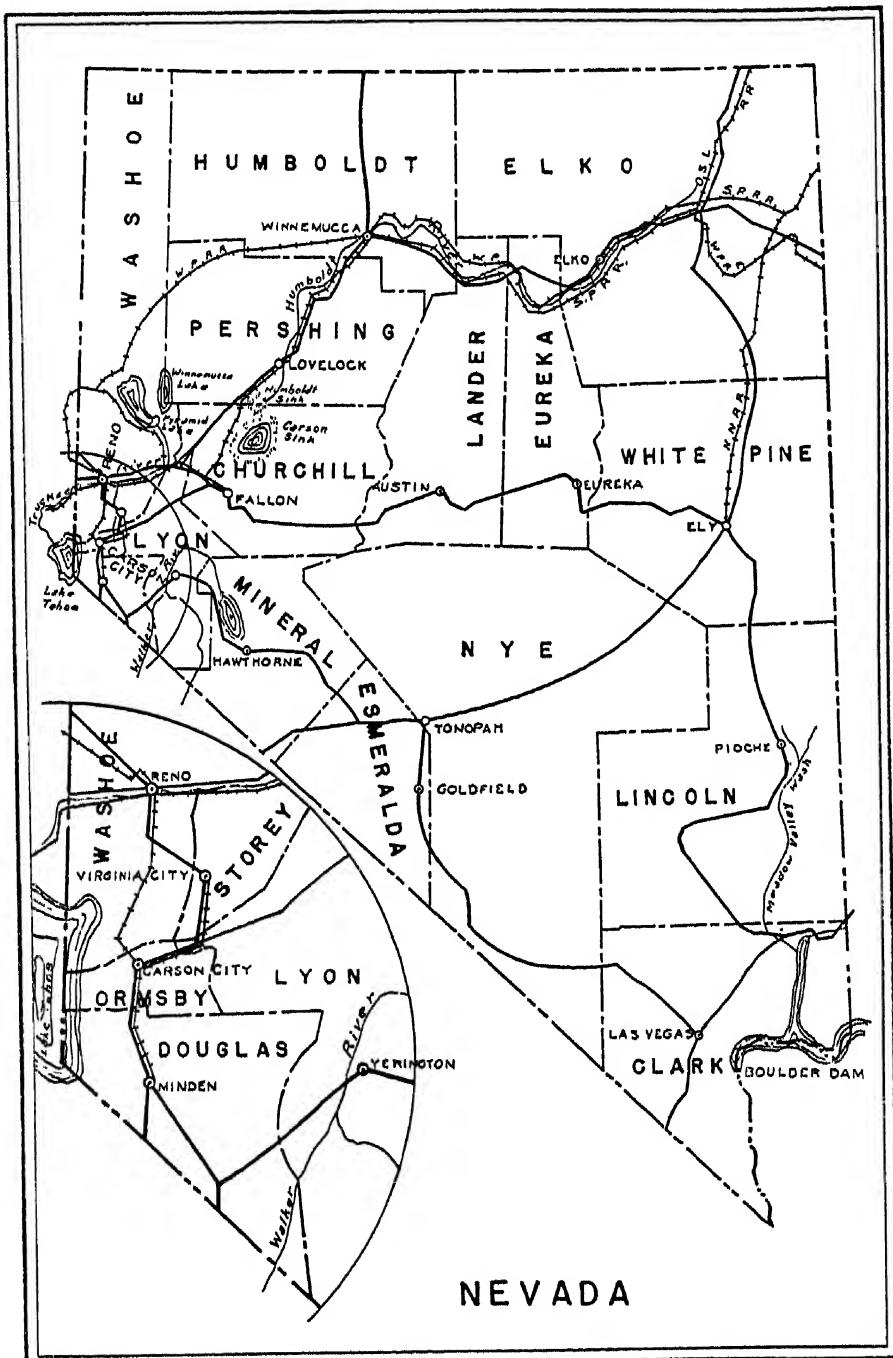
As the Comstock era, dating from 1859, is the beginning of Nevada's prosperity, so the end of that era, in 1879, marks the peak of population in the nineteenth century. The eighties and nineties witnessed not only the decline of mining but of those subsidiary industries which had grown up around the mining camps. By 1900 the population had dropped from over 60,000 to 42,000. The early years of the twentieth century brought a new rush to southwestern Nevada and, later, to other parts of the state. From this period dates the more stable conditions of the present period. Over one hundred new mining camps arose, some of which became permanent. Roads were constructed to connect the camps, and, before a decline occurred, the World War gave

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a new boost in the high prices for minerals. After the close of the war, although the search for minerals declined, there was still much demand for non-metallics like gypsum and dumortierite, the latter used for spark plugs. While the drawback of population sparsity has been only partially overcome, in nearly every other respect Nevada stands today abreast of modern civilization. This status has been obtained as the result of a fierce, long-sustained struggle with nature during which some of the episodes seem like the battle of giants.

Of late, conditions in the mining industry are changing. Increasing ease of transportation and communication is producing the ordered and systematic town in place of the early mushroom camp, because there is less need of haste after a "find" is made. A town is now begun, as a usual thing, only after a careful investigation. The factor of lower cost in transportation of the mine products also means that mining is more widespread and more stable. Very considerable scientific advance in geological knowledge and mining methods also makes for increased stability. Recent silver legislation, the new period of gold production, and the probable forthcoming market for strategic war materials seems to indicate that Nevada is entering on a new era of mining activity. Particularly in tungsten and mercury she has much to offer immediately. Pershing county is said to have the largest production of tungsten in the United States. Manganese is scattered widely over the state but has not hitherto been easily recoverable from the ores. Improved methods now give better economic recovery. Copper is produced in large quantities.

Nevada has an area of 110,690 square miles, making it the sixth largest in size of the states. It is 484 miles long in its greatest extent north and south, and 321 miles wide. Most of it lies in the Great Basin. Hence the rivers drain into lakes and sinks. The four chief streams are the Humboldt, Truckee, Walker, and Carson rivers. The Humboldt crosses the state from near the eastern border to its sink in Pershing county. Although sometimes called the crookedest



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river in the United States, it served as a way for the early emigrant travel to the Pacific coast, and in all later eras has pointed the road for east-west railroad and highway development across the northern part of the state. The Truckee has its source in Lake Tahoe and ends in Pyramid lake, after covering a distance of 110 miles. The Walker and Carson rise in the Sierra Nevadas and flow, the one to Walker lake, the other to Carson sink, in western Nevada. Tributaries of the Snake river drain northern Elko county into the Columbia system, while the Virgin and the Muddy, in southeastern Nevada, carry the drainage from a part of Clark county into the Colorado, which is the state's only natural boundary.

Although in one place the elevation sinks almost to that of Death valley, yet the altitude otherwise is uniformly high, with an average in the valleys of 4,500 feet. The highest mountain peak, located on the California line in Esmeralda county, is over 13,000 feet. Nearly as high is Mt. Wheeler in White Pine county, while several peaks are over 11,000 feet.

Great variations of rainfall and temperature are characteristic features of the climate. Heavy snowfall in the mountains furnishes water for irrigation. In the valleys small annual rainfall is the rule. Bright sunshine and pure, dry air characterize the climate in general, which is stimulating and conducive to outdoor life the year around. Because of the air quality, visibility from mountain heights and airplane is almost unthinkably great, and even in the lower plateaus it lends charm to the much sought after life with nature. Cool nights, even in summer, result from the wide daily range in temperature. In the extreme northeastern parts a winter temperature of 50 degrees below is not unknown. Las Vegas, in the south, has an annual mean temperature of 65 degrees, while Reno, in the west, has one of 50 degrees. Winds blow chiefly from the west, south, and southwest. The greatest rainfall is in the western areas close to the Sierras, while next in humidity comes the central valley sections of Pershing and Humboldt counties. The

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Amargosa and Ralston deserts have the least. Very little of Nevada's surface is desert, but much is arid and semi-arid.

For reasons of topography and geology the great industries of Nevada are mining and various forms of agriculture. Of these, mining is by far the more important. But without the development of agriculture, mining could not have lasted long, for, in its early isolation and without adequate means of transportation, only the richest bonanzas would have sufficed to hold the mining population in areas where the common necessities of life were well-nigh unobtainable. Moreover, in periods of mining decline, it was the ranch and the farm that furnished the only stable population of the state. Again, even during seasons of mining prosperity, the individual mineral camp was short-lived. But the rancher remained, anchored to his land.

It was the search for precious metals that first directed the attention of large numbers to this area. Silver, in particular, was the magnet which drew the avaricious, first to one boom camp and then to another. Virginia City, Silver City, Gold Hill, Aurora, Austin, Eureka, Hamilton, Ione, Belmont, Tuscarora, Egan Canyon, Pioche, Tonopah, Goldfield, Bullfrog, Rhyolite, Manhattan, Round Mountain, Rawhide, Seven Troughs, National, Jarbridge, Wonder, Fairview, Broken Hills, Rochester, Silver Peak, Weepah, Scossa, Awakening, Ely, Yerington, Mountain City, McGill, Ruth, Getchell:—these and many more names flash across the mind a panoramic picture of Nevada's mining industry. As a result of mining activities in 448 districts of Nevada, there has been a total mineral production, between 1859 and 1937, of over a billion and a half dollars. In order of productiveness, Storey county leads the list with \$450,000,000; White Pine comes next with 30 districts producing \$384,062,183; Nye is next with 67 districts netting \$181,757,913; Esmeralda is not far behind with 30 districts and \$109,925,632. A branch mint at Carson City in earlier days reflects the importance of Nevada mines in the estimation of the federal government.

Stock raising and agriculture, the other great industry,

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is carried on in all Nevada counties, but in three of the seventeen is subordinated to mining. Sheep² and cattle raising are characteristic of all the northeastern counties of Elko, White Pine, Nye, Eureka, Lander, and Humboldt, and is also very important in Lincoln county, in southern Nevada. The hay, dairy, and general phases of farming have been developed in Washoe, Churchill, Lyon, Douglas, and Pershing counties, in western Nevada. In Clark county, in the south, truck farming and general farming are most important. Cattle and sheep are found in western Nevada, where alfalfa culture has provided fattening food the year around. About one-half of all land is sagebrush but wild wheat, rye, and blue grass grow in interstices between the brush and are excellent for feed. Also, in the one-ninth of the land which is timbered forest, grass is usable for grazing purposes. About 85 per cent of the cultivated crops, in addition to the natural feed, are fed to livestock.

Particularly in ranching, only large interests are forceful enough to compete with the desert. Great holdings are, therefore, to be expected. The Kenyon family, Keough, Sadler, Pat Walsh, Chiatovich, Molani, Lamberucci, McNutt, Adams, McGill, Robinson, Cleveland, John Sparks, Garat, Dunphy, Dressler, Fairchild, Wines, Weeks, Hufaker, McCullough Bros., Winters, Dangberg Land and Livestock Co., Ellison Ranching Co., Utah Construction Co., Griswold Livestock Co., Allied Land and Livestock Co., Petan Land and Livestock Co., W. T. Jenkins Co., Gerlach Livestock Co., Holbrook, R. B. Stewart, John G. Taylor Co., Helen Stewart, Hylton, W. B. Rickey, Williams, Henry Anderson, Dan Wheeler, Lem Allen, R. H. Cowles: these are a few of the great names, past and present, in the ranching industry of Nevada.³ The large ranches, with areas up

2. Sheep production, which reached over one million head in 1930, was sharply cut down by the drought and hard times of 1934, but has again climbed back to nearly normal numbers.

3. A tendency toward consolidation of land and livestock control has been manifest in recent years through incorporation and combination of interests. Large ownership operates to secure desirable differences in climatic conditions with the change of seasons, a necessity, particularly in sheep raising.

The ranching business has also undergone a revision in technique in recent years.

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to one hundred thousand acres, are found chiefly in White Pine, Eureka, Elko, and Humboldt counties. The character of feed on the Nevada ranges is such that livestock fed there is said to be of a higher quality than that produced, for instance, in California. Considering their economic importance, it is not strange that the big cattle and sheep ranchers have wielded much influence in the political life of the state.

In western Nevada cattle fattening is an important occupation. Markets are found both to the west and to the east. Laws for branding cattle were early developed and legislation for the use of the range is always of great moment. The highest production of livestock came between 1910 and 1925. The raising of poultry, especially turkeys, has gradually become an important industry. Coöperative associations have developed to market produce.

Because of scant rainfall during the growing season, crop raising is limited to irrigated regions. Dry farming has been tried in various spots but without marked success. From the time of the first Mormon settlements in Carson valley to the present era, methods have been developed to conserve the water and to increase farm production. Naturally there has been much litigation over water rights. Control has been sought over every water hole and mountain spring. When, in 1903, a state law gave control over water claims to the state engineer, the situation was greatly clarified, and the state was put in a better position to coöperate with the United States in the development of irrigation systems. It is estimated that, to date, the actual extent of federal reclamation work in Nevada is small, as compared with the amount accomplished by private initiative and privately owned irrigation districts. Much of Nevada irrigated land has been watered in a simple way, by means

More business-like methods are employed and controlled grazing has been initiated under the Taylor Grazing Act of 1934. The purpose of the Act is to curtail overstocking of the open range land. The law operates especially over the large tracts of public domain lands. Since the organization of grazing districts in Nevada, serious objections have been raised by stockmen, some of whom claim that fees are excessive, that old grazing rights have been curtailed and that they were not given proper consideration in matters pertaining to the control of grazing ranges.

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of dirt, willow, or rock dams. Sometimes a natural formation of land has aided in the storage of water.

As early as 1889, agitation for federal aid began. A state commission was appointed to report on available water, and, in 1899, a report was made, giving a summary of water resources. Under the Carey Act of 1894, the largest acreage reclaimed by a private company was 55,000 acres in Mason valley. The first project undertaken under the United States reclamation act of 1902 was the Truckee-Carson, later named the Newlands project in honor of Francis G. Newlands, author of the reclamation statute. Construction of the Lahontan Dam, in 1915, made possible the cultivation of a much larger area. During the war, when high prices prevailed, the irrigable acreage was used to the limit, but some of the less desirable land was abandoned after 1921.

Slowly but surely Nevada is developing more farming interests. Artesian wells in southern Nevada make oases in the desert. Rye Patch Dam on the lower Humboldt has conserved water for farming in the Big Meadows area. Boca Dam is intended to insure a certain water supply in the Truckee meadows. Boulder Dam, with its vast agricultural possibilities,⁴ was first agitated as a government project at the close of the World War by Johnson and Swing of California, aided by Pittman, Oddie, Arentz, and George Malone, of Nevada. The Swing-Johnson bill was signed in 1928 and, after preliminary surveys resulting in the choice of Black Canyon site, in 1930, construction began in 1931 and was completed in 1936. It was built chiefly for flood control and irrigation. The question as to the possibility of economically raising water from the Colorado to the Nevada side for farming purposes will, perhaps, wait upon further engineer-

4. The power aspects of Boulder Dam are more immediately attractive for Nevada. It has been allocated 18 per cent, estimated to amount to 648,000,000 kilowatts. The building of power lines, as to Pioche and Goodsprings mining districts, has already been accomplished. More recently Nevada has indicated a willingness to accept a set sum of \$300,000 annually in lieu of a percentage of surplus revenue, this payment to continue for a period of not less than fifty years. Under the revisory legislative program, payment to Arizona and Nevada would start as of June 1, 1937. The claim of Nevada is that she could have collected huge taxes from the enterprise had it been built with private capital.

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ing developments. However, Clark county is already noted for its semi-tropical products and its truck farming industry. In northern Nevada potatoes, dairying, the beet sugar industry, and general farming keep pace with water development.

As hitherto noted, Nevada's early need for transportation agencies was great, due to her isolation, the character of her industries, and her dependence on imported food supplies. The pack animal, the mule team, the covered wagon, the pony express, the overland stage, "Snowshoe" Thompson and the telegraph line, toll roads, and toll bridges were the earliest answers to the problem of transportation and communication. Camels for a time carried the borax mined near Leeteville. However, it was not long until the need for faster travel to the Pacific coast brought into existence the first overland railroads, the Central Pacific and the Union Pacific. The Central Pacific, completed in 1869, paved the way for two other transcontinental railroads through the state, and a number of local or branch lines. Wherever the railroads went, towns were called into existence and remained even after the roads were abandoned. Highways now cover the state like a network and make possible freight transportation and bus service in all directions. Transcontinental air service was added to Nevada's transportation system in 1922, and the state now has twenty-two landing fields. Taxes on transportation facilities yield a large income to the state and local governments in Nevada.⁵ At times, the taxes on railroads have been the chief source of income for a number of Nevada counties,⁶ although in later years the development of farms and ranches has tended to remove this dependence. At present, owners of motor cars, through

5. About nine-tenths of the state's lands are publicly owned. The Southern Pacific Railway is the largest private land owner in Nevada. The federal government is now trying to acquire, or lease, the railroad's land in order to control it for grazing purposes.

6. Railroads, even now, pay 85 per cent of Nevada's ad valorem tax. The railroads, aided by the livestock and mining interests, are active in keeping the tax rates as low as possible. Nevada can boast that it has no bonded debt outside of the state, as all outstanding bonds have been purchased by various state departments for the benefit of trust funds; that it has a surplus in the state treasury; and that its tax rate has been gradually reduced in spite of the fact that it maintains all necessary state functions.

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gasoline and license taxes, pay the largest share of state taxes.⁷ Thus the transportation system has been an important stabilizing factor in the economic life of the state.

Outsiders usually think of the so-called "liberal" laws of Nevada as being productive of one of the chief sources of the state's income.⁸

Wide open gambling was lawful in the state from early days until 1910, when it was prohibited by state law. During the prohibited period the games gradually reopened throughout the state and were tolerated under a system through which numerous local officials were accused of taking large bribes. This bribery and graft became so flagrant that, in 1931, the legislature again legalized gambling under a licensing system. Many of those who had previously opposed licensed gambling approved the step because, they said, the corruption of their public officials was more evil in its social and political effect than that resulting from gambling itself. Payment to the state for gambling licenses is less than two per cent of its total revenue.

Nevada's divorce business was in full swing under its old law enacted in 1861 requiring six months' residence as a qualification for instituting a divorce action, long before the term of residence was reduced, first to three months and later to six weeks, as at present. Shortening the residence requirement by other states led to each of these reductions by Nevada. The shortened terms were advocated by lawyers and hotel keepers, and on both occasions were opposed by groups of citizens and a few members of the bar. Those profiting from this business, however, were much better organized and were far more influential in the legislative bodies. Most of those to whom divorcees are granted come

7. The recreational and scenic values of the state have only recently been realized. Now advertised as a sportsman's paradise, Nevada is profiting much from the tourist trade. Boulder Dam, especially, has become a mecca for tourists.

8. Nevada has no income, inheritance, or sales tax. When its neighbors point a finger of shame because these laws attract people of wealth, Nevada replies that, with the exception of the gasoline tax, there has been no material change in her tax laws for thirty years, and that if other states would repeal all the tax laws they have enacted since 1910, they would have practically the same system that now prevails in Nevada. Another answer Nevada uses is that, lacking a stable, settled civilization, she has to be ingenious to make a living.

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from New York state where divorces can be obtained only on the ground of adultery. Most of the other clients came from states that require six months to a year to complete a divorce action.

Though Nevada people seek publicly to justify the state laws pertaining to divorce and gambling, the daily habits of the more stable and permanent population tend to prove that these things are condoned by many as a matter of economic expediency in lieu of more desirable ways of making a living. The emphasis upon education, religion, and the solid things of life astonishes the casual visitor who expects to find nothing but corruption. This conservatism and stability, bracketed with a constant holiday spirit, constitutes what has been called the "mystery of Nevada."

LABOR

Because of its comparative isolation, labor has always been a vital problem in Nevada. Many countries have contributed their quota for the kind of work in which their people excelled: the Basques for sheep-raising, Chinese and Mexicans for railroad construction, Chinese and French for the making of canals, Germans for ranching, Italians, Chinese, and Irish for forestry labor, Italians and Scandinavians for farming, and Irish, Cornishmen, English, and Scotch for mining.

The question of Chinese exclusion made quite a political stir in the state at one time, and the policy of exclusion was favored. Miners' unions were found in all the early mining camps and were often effective in controlling mining conditions and in preserving law and order. Wages have, in general, been high throughout Nevada's history, in keeping with the expensive living conditions. The first eight-hour day law for mines in the United States was adopted in Nevada in the seventies.

Skilled labor is highly organized in all the larger Nevada cities. In most of the crafts the five-day week is strictly enforced and extra compensation is paid for overtime. The organization of the white-collared groups, such as the clerks,

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is weak and the compensation of their members, they complain, is low. No workers' organizations exist among the farm and ranch employees. Farm labor in the state has always been, in part, seasonal, but on the large ranches a permanent crew is kept throughout the year. Most of those engaged in the mining occupation belong to the Western Federation of Miners, or some similar organization.

For many years organized labor has been strongly represented in the lower house of the Nevada state legislature, the senate of which, however, is usually controlled by the land, livestock, mining, and business interests. Notwithstanding this division of influence the legislature has enacted much legislation advocated by the laboring group, such as an efficient workingmen's compensation act, an eight-hour law for mine workers, an eight-hour and minimum wage law for women, advanced legislation controlling the employment of minors, and statutes making it a misdemeanor for employers to fail to pay wages when due. The labor groups were also successful in securing prompt participation by the state in the federal systems providing for old age pensions and unemployment insurance.

Organized labor is politically active in all of the larger counties and exerts a determining influence in many of the elections, both state and local. Many of the candidates of both parties seek union labor endorsements while the campaigns are under way, and these are given by the labor organizations only when their officials are convinced the candidates will support their program. In 1934 the labor organizations vigorously opposed a candidate for the state supreme court who had, a short time before, held picketing to be unconstitutional. They were successful in their opposition. In 1938 the railroad labor organizations likewise opposed, in the Democratic state primaries, a candidate seeking the nomination for governor who had favored, they asserted, while a member of the public service commission, the stage lines which were in competition with the railroads. It was frankly admitted by Democratic leaders that this

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opposition by the railroad workers contributed importantly to his defeat.

In this state there are virtually no employer groups that are organized for the purpose of dealing with labor employment.⁹ Such groups as exist are for the purpose of dealing with legislative matters. The most important ones are: Nevada Livestock Association, Nevada Retail Merchants Association, Nevada Mine Operators Association, the Farm Bureau,¹⁰ Nevada Teachers Association, and Nevada Contractors Association. The railroads have no organization but each road has its own political agent.

THE PEOPLE

The population of Nevada is less than one person to the square mile. In 1930 it was 91,058, of whom 81,425 were whites, 516 Negroes, 3,090 Mexicans, 4,871 Indians, and 1,156 American Asiatics. The foreign born population was 12,275. Sex distribution was 53,161 males as against 37,897 females, or 140.3 males to 100 females. The unusually high per cent of males seems to be due to the foreign-born white element, 232.5 males to 100 females, while for the mountain states as a whole it is only 144.2. The low percentage of females is due to the fact that Nevada is relatively a new state, with pioneer conditions still prevailing in some sections. It is, therefore, more attractive to young men who are single. Also there are many mining camps where accommodations are often discouraging to women. In respect to age percentages, the averages for the years 40 to 60 are higher

9. Socialistic and communistic pressure groups have made little headway in Nevada. The decided change of seasons on the mountain plateau, the absence of factories, the high cost of living, and the difficulty in finding year around employment, tend to discourage the proletariat from coming or from remaining. They pass on into California as the land of perpetual summer.

10. The Farm Bureau is one of the state's most effective pressure groups. Usually able to elect a number of its members to the legislature, it has been most successful, through the influence of these members, and pressure exerted upon others, in obtaining or maintaining special appropriations for the support of agricultural extension work. In addition, it has obtained the enactment of legislation under which its organization is supported by special state taxes. As a rule its members in the legislature, while active in support of all agricultural appropriations, are conservative with respect to other legislation.

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than for other states, but for the childhood period up to 20 years are lower than elsewhere.¹¹

The Indians: Paiute, Paviotso, Shoshoni, Washoe, are mainly on reservations and in colonies. Indians of voting age are entitled to the ballot. For many years few of them went to the polls, but in several recent elections they have voted in considerable numbers. Complaints have been made that they have been improperly influenced by persons in a position to render them favors. As evidence of this, the fact is pointed to that, in a number of the precincts where the Indian vote is heavily predominant, nearly all the votes cast are in favor of one particular party or several particular candidates. The number of their votes, not more than three per cent of the state's total, is insufficient, however, to determine any but very close elections.

Nevada has no race problem. While there has been less integration of various racial patterns than in eastern states, no distinct antipathies have developed. The Italians, most populous foreign born element, in the absence of factory work, have turned to farming and they form one of the conservative elements in political and economic life. Neither climate nor industry invite large numbers of Negro inhabitants.

RELIGION, EDUCATION, AND THE PRESS

To those early explorers and settlers who made the first attempt at human adjustment with difficult surroundings, there resulted many sorts of tensions fitted to discourage all but the most tenacious, or the few whose economic gains in the mines overshadowed for the moment the cultural meagerness or lack of comforts. Although a region of great potential promise, the immediate struggle with nature dominated the scene until modern inventions made possible irrigation and power projects, transportation and communication systems and the development of recreational areas. Inevitably the adventurous and the speculative spirit necessary for continuation of this struggle with nature largely conditioned the social environment during the early decades.

11. *Statistical Abstract of the United States*, 1938, pp. 12-17.

The mining camps, through which Nevada received its early development, were not exactly what one would term religious communities. Saloons, gambling houses, and hurdy-gurdies dominated the row of business houses. Desperadoes, if not regarded as heroes, were admired for their boldness and talent in accomplishing their lawless objectives. Small wonder that the mining camp has been accused of "spiritual feebleness." Yet, wherever women and children made family life possible, even the mining camp made an attempt at the establishment of a church and Sunday school, as witness the famous St. Mary's of the Mountains in Virginia City with Bishop Monogue as its leader. If no other room were available in a camp, the religious services were held in a saloon from which the glasses and bottles had been temporarily removed or put under a cover. When a funeral service was needed, if there was no clergyman at hand, a miner would read the church ritual and deliver the eulogy. Some of these spontaneous services were occasions long to be remembered.

Even the lonely prospector had his own manner of religious expression. Because the desert does not respond easily to human labor, the dweller on the desert, feeling his own impotence, becomes meditative, trying thus to discover the source of that influence which has made the desert so overwhelming! Three of the great monotheistic religions of the world have arisen in the desert and have each become a controlling moral force and stimulus in the struggle with nature. And so in Nevada, the prospector, out in the great open spaces, under the spell of tinted distances too vast to be comprehended, felt an expansion of spirit that stood him for worship. Unconsciously, perhaps, his character was formed by forces stronger than love of adventure or desire for wealth.

Not only did dwellers in this region follow a natural impulse toward religious worship, but also great church organizations in the East felt a duty to establish missions in what seemed to them a godless territory. The Mormons, at Salt Lake, established a far western colony in the form of

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a trading station in Carson valley in 1849, as a part of an ambitious plan for the proposed state of Deseret. Next, after the Mormons, came the Methodists to Carson valley, in 1859, and also to Eagle valley, reaching even to Virginia City, in 1861. Church buildings were erected in all the chief mining camps. Many times these structures were rebuilt following destructive fires. The Roman Catholic denomination was introduced in 1860 and proved to be the most generous of all sects in expenditures. By 1885 it had spent \$250,000. The Episcopalians, proverbially strong in frontier religious activities, first held services in Virginia City in 1861, and from there extended their efforts to all the principal mining camps. The Presbyterians organized many societies in Nevada but provided comparatively few church buildings. Baptists have had representatives in Nevada from 1863. As a result of these missionary thrusts and the heterogeneous character of the population, some two dozen or more religious denominations are now serving the people of the state. The leading ones are: Roman Catholic, 62 churches with 13,000 members, strongest in Elko county; Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, 36 missions with 5,000-6,000 members, strongest in White Pine, Clark, and Elko counties; Protestant Episcopal, 34 churches, strongest in Washoe and Elko counties; Methodist Episcopal, 26 churches, strongest in Elko and White Pine counties; Presbyterian, 18 churches, strongest in Elko county; Federated, 4 churches; Seventh-Day Adventists, 5 churches; Lutheran, 13 churches, strongest in Esmeralda, Lyon, and Washoe; First Church of Christ Scientist, 9 missions, equally distributed through as many counties; Baptist, 9 churches, strongest in Washoe and Elko. Fundamentalists have 3 branches; Salvation Army has 2; Pentacostal-Full Gospel has 2, and each of the following has one: African Methodist Episcopal, Congregational, Temple Emmanuel, Church of Nazarene, Christian and Missionary Alliance, Spiritualist, Disciples of Christ. A number of metaphysical organizations are also represented.

Openly exercised political pressure from any religious

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group is practically impossible under the Nevada constitution which demands religious toleration. Fear of Mormon domination in the early years was unfounded. The religious question has been raised at various times in state and local elections, but, in the opinion of those long experienced in politics, making religion a test for office almost always defeats the end of those prescribing it. According to the best estimates, about twenty to twenty-two per cent of the voters are members of the Roman Catholic church, the remainder being members or descendants of those of other faiths. Notwithstanding this disparity in voting strength between the Catholic and other religions, many of the state's highest offices have been awarded to Catholics, even though the religious issue was raised during the campaigns in which they were candidates. The present governor, lieutenant governor, one of Nevada's United States senators, and several other prominent state officials are Catholics.

Nevada's educational history antedates even the period of territorial government. The first school house was a log cabin at Franktown, in 1857, and in the mining camps of the '60's and '70's it was the custom to provide schooling for the children. In 1861, the first territorial legislature provided for financial support of the schools, distributed between territory, county, and school district. The usual school officers were provided, but in reality administration was left to school trustees, and a great lack of uniformity was the result. In the state constitution of 1864 provision was made for a uniform system, compulsory attendance, and division into primary and high schools, all to be supervised by an elected state school superintendent. Later the office, which is still elective, was made non-partisan. A permanent school fund was also established, the interest from which was to constitute a permanent endowment for public school education. At present there are 916 on the teaching staff with 19,720 children in the schools.¹²

Throughout its history Nevada has developed toward centralized school control and toward a stable system of

12. *Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1938* (figures for 1936).

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school support. In 1932, Nevada ranked third among the states in per capita expenditure per child in average daily attendance. The University of Nevada combines under one administration all of the public higher education in the state. It is located in Reno and is made up of several colleges, including the well-known Mackay School of Mines.

The illiteracy rate of the state is 4.4 per cent as compared to a national rate of 4.3 per cent. The illiteracy rate in Nevada is due to its Indian and Spanish-American population. Illiteracy among Nevada's native whites is 0.2 per cent; foreign born white is 7.5 per cent; Negro, 1.5 per cent, Indians and Spanish-Americans, 31.7 per cent.¹³ The illiteracy rate has been steadily declined as a result of compulsory education.

The educational pressure group has used its powerful influence chiefly to further legislation for improvement of the schools. While it has, doubtless, functioned sometimes as an aid to allied social reforms and developments, on the whole it has abstained from becoming involved in purely political factional fights.

From the beginning the press has been important in Nevada political life. The earliest newspapers appeared in 1854 in the form of hand written manuscripts. Four years later, the first printed newspaper, the *Territorial Enterprise*, began publication in Genoa but soon moved to Carson City, and thence to Virginia City, after silver had been discovered on the Comstock. Joseph T. Goodman, Rollin M. Daggett, Mark Twain, Dan DeQuille, and other humorists were all associated with the *Enterprise*. In 1870, the *Nevada State Journal*, and, in 1876, the *Reno Evening Gazette* began publication, each as a daily. The latter has been edited by Mr. Graham Sanford from 1915 to 1939. It is now being transferred to a newspaper service organization which will henceforth own both Reno dailies. Mr. Sanford will continue to edit the *Gazette*, and Mr. Joseph McDonald will perform the same service for the *Journal*. Thirty-two newspapers, of which eight are dailies, are now in existence. San Francisco

13. *National Advisory Committee on Illiteracy Report*.

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papers are largely read by people in western Nevada, and Salt Lake publications are frequently found in eastern and southern Nevada. In the latter section, also, the Los Angeles dailies have a considerable circulation. Except during campaign periods the local papers are moderate in their treatment of political news. Reno has had radio facilities since 1929. Since 1930, KOH has been affiliated with CBS network but is, in 1940, to be a part of the NBC. Perhaps not even the automobile has done as much as has the radio to integrate the civilization of the state.

POLITICAL EXPRESSION

Born out of chaotic conditions, and with a population which was neither homogeneous nor stable, one marvels at the wisdom manifested in the constitutional convention and the early legislative assemblies. Granting that the tendency, because of the time, was to re-enact the general kind of constitution and system of laws with which the settlers had been familiar in California or the East, yet Nevada vigorously faced the problem of adapting her political institutions to the special physical and economic conditions of the intermountain area. As for example, when led by Lawyer William M. Stewart, later United States senator for many years, the general property tax, accepted as axiomatic in the East, was set aside in Nevada in so far as to exempt the mines and lay the burden for that class of property solely on "net proceeds."¹⁴ This anomaly of a heterogeneous human element, coupled with original and daring, but able, solutions of problems, is found throughout the history of the state.

Throughout Nevada's history, even more than in most states, the dominant economic interests, rather than partisan inheritance, have decided the trend of politics. The doctrine of abstract equality did not fit in with the conditions of economic life. Until economic life was established there would be little to govern, or so the people have felt. Hence mining, ranching, and railroad interests have been most powerful and, either separately or in coalition, they have usually

14. The building and plants of the mining companies are taxed like other property, however.

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greatly influenced the policy of the state. Moreover as the center of population has shifted with change of mining excitement, the political power has shifted likewise. During the first twenty years of life after separation from Utah, Virginia City held the reins. Then, with the rise of the rich but ephemeral camps of eastern Nevada a brief period of supremacy there overshadowed the old Washoe region. This was followed by the rise of Tonopah and Goldfield, and a subsequent period during which mining had so declined that it no longer dominated the political scene. Then it was that Reno, the population center, capitalized on its varied advantages, and its domination will not easily be overcome, although Boulder Dam and renewed mining activities in many parts will keep Reno healthily stimulated.

The structure of Nevada's political organization is essentially like that of other states of the Union. A bicameral legislature, composed of 17 senators and 40 representatives meets in January of the odd-numbered years. The apportionment made in 1927 gave to each county one senator and at least one assemblyman. Legislative bills follow the usual procedure, but an amendment must be considered by two successive sessions, and, if passed, it is placed on the ballot at the next general election to be accepted or rejected by the people.¹⁵ In seventy-five years there have been but twenty-seven amendments. The governor,¹⁶ who must have been a resident for two years, has a four-year term and is eligible for reelection. Other state officers have four year terms and are, in general, elected. There are numerous state commissions. The state supreme court has three members with a six-year term. There are eight district courts, which are held at county seats. Justice courts are presided over by the justice of the peace, elected as are other members of the judiciary.

Since 1912, Nevada has had the initiative provision,

15. The constitution may also be amended by the initiative, Art. XIX, Sec. 3.

16. More than in most states the governor has been a dominating political factor because of the need for concentrated, virile leadership in an area of difficult communications.

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and, since 1909, the referendum. It also has the recall for elected officers but has never made use of it for state officials.

Because of its scattered population, Nevada has always used the county for purposes of local government. There are seventeen counties, which vary greatly in size and population. These have been created from time to time as new mining camps have emerged. Often the county seat has been moved a number of times as one camp has declined and another has risen to importance. Both incorporated and unincorporated towns are found in the state. The expense of maintaining city government deters some towns from incorporating. For instance, the mining camp of Tonopah, although at one time one of the largest towns in the state, has never been incorporated. Cities of the first two classes elect their officers, but third class ones elect only a mayor and councilmen who then appoint all other officials. While the law of Nevada permits a commission form of city government, the mayor-council arrangement is the one in general use. Boulder City, under federal control, has a city manager.

Any citizen of the United States, twenty-one years of age, who has been in Nevada for six months and is properly registered with the county clerk, may vote at all elections. There is provision for the absent voter. Nevada has a direct primary law for the nomination of both state and county officers. Delegates to the national nominating convention are still chosen by state convention, however. Slightly more than 75 per cent of Nevada's registered vote was cast in the general election of 1938. The percentage voting was probably greater as Nevada has a "perpetual" registration list, and county officials find it difficult to purge completely their lists of registrants who have died or moved away. That money has been improperly used at times to pass or defeat bills in the legislature is frankly admitted by those close to the legislative scene, but the practice has not been common in recent years. The object desired is usually accomplished through the medium of pressure groups. At times legislators have been accused of exchanging their votes for profitable employment given them after adjournment. Direct

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vote buying ceased many years ago. Politicians accomplish the same ends by hiring voters, especially those with families, as campaign workers. Nevada has a very severe corrupt practice act, drawn to insure the purity of elections, but virtually no effort has been made to enforce it.

In respect to national politics, Nevada was usually Republican in state and national elections from the time of its admission into the Union, in 1864, until 1890. Following that election there arose the Silver party, demanding the free and unlimited coinage of silver at the ratio of sixteen to one, which was also being demanded by the People's party, and together they carried the state in 1892. In that election the Silverites polled twice as many votes as the Democratic and Republican candidates combined, and, until 1908, the Silver party continued to exert a powerful influence in every state election. Thousands of old party voters aligned themselves with the new Silver party, which had allied itself with the People's or Populist party, and with them went nearly all the active Democratic and Republican politicians and office seekers, particularly those of Democratic faith. As a consequence the Democratic organization became little more than a name, but its leaders, with shrewd foresight, proceeded to take over the Silver party, in which many Republicans had also enrolled. Thus, when the Silver party vanished, in 1908, thousands of Republicans, including many of political prominence, found themselves outside their old party organization and virtually allied with the Democratic party, which had swallowed up the Silver movement. In the breakup that followed a considerable number of Republicans returned to their party allegiance, but others, because of political favors received, or through inertia, remained with the Democratic organization. Several times since the collapse of the Silver party the Republicans have carried the state, but nearly always it has been accomplished by narrow majorities. Even today some of the principal leaders in the Democratic state organization are descended from old Nevada families which were, prior to the Silver movement, traditionally Republican.

The strength of the Republican party, which enjoyed a revival in 1904, when it won a seat in the United States Senate, and again in 1910, when it won the governorship, was further weakened by the great mining discoveries in southern Nevada during the period from 1902 until about 1910. These discoveries brought thousands of miners to the state from Colorado, Idaho, Montana, and other states that were either Democratic, or in which the "mining" vote was cast for that party. A large majority of these newcomers registered and voted as Democrats, with the consequence that the Democratic party, after it took over the Silver party, won the governorship in every election until 1926, except in 1910 when a Republican won the office because he was able to carry the "mining" vote. The Republicans re-elected their governor in 1930 but since then the state has voted Democratic.

The erection within the state of the numerous New Deal organizations, through which many millions of dollars have been distributed in the form of relief and otherwise, have made the recent Democratic state organization almost invincible. Most of these relief and recovery officials are registered as Democrats, and their position enables them to exert tremendous political influence in a state with a population as small as that of Nevada. Also, the national administration, by drawing into the state's recovery administration a number of Republican party workers, has silenced them politically.

A new phenomenon in the life of the state appeared about twenty years ago in the rise of a political combination, popularly called the "bi-partisan machine," which began to exert a powerful influence in elections and legislative affairs. On previous occasions temporary alliances had occasionally been formed, usually in the state legislature, by representatives of the railroad, livestock, and mining groups, but they were invariably dissolved after the sessions ended or ensuing political campaigns again drew their participants into opposing camps. This new development was something far different and more lasting in character. Headed by the offi-

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cials of a powerful chain of state banks, the new political combination completely dominated both the Democratic and Republican organizations. Recognizing its power, the railroad, utility, livestock, and mining interests sought its favor and so strengthened its control in many of the counties and municipalities. So complete was its authority that it seldom found it necessary to interfere in the primaries or the elections since, with few exceptions, the successful politicians of both parties sought its support and generally complied with its wishes after they were elected. In several instances wherein they did not, they were defeated in the succeeding elections in the communities wherein the machine was dominant. Its influence, however, was virtually destroyed after the failure of the financial institutions comprising the banking chain, in 1932. Since then a few of the politicians who were allied with it have won in local elections, but generally they have been defeated.

PARTY LEADERSHIP

Leadership has always played a most important part in Nevada politics. In the earlier period, William M. Stewart and John P. Jones were the outstanding bearers of the banners of the Silver party, both in Nevada and in the national capital. Later, Francis G. Newlands took over their inheritance, turning his attention increasingly to the arid land reclamation issues. The Democratic party in Nevada is now divided into two groups. The Carville-McCarran wing has for its guidance the present governor and one of the present United States senators.¹⁷ Governor E. P. Carville, before his election, in 1938, was a practicing attorney of Reno and still earlier a district judge at Elko. He is eligible for another

17. In the president's attempt to reorganize the supreme court, Senator McCarran was a leader in the fight against the plan and was, in consequence, unsuccessfully placed on the "purge" list in the last senatorial campaign. Senator Pittman remained in alignment with the president. The resulting friction between the two Nevada senators became acute in their disagreement over the nomination of a new United States district attorney for Nevada in the summer of 1939. Although they later united on the cause of silver, yet the factional wounds are far from healed. The two men were opposed to each other on the question of neutrality legislation in the special session of 1939. Senator Pittman's powerful position as chairman of the foreign relations committee makes him a worthy antagonist.

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term. Senator Patrick McCarran is serving his second term in the Senate. He is a graduate of the University of Nevada and was admitted to the Nevada bar in 1905. He practiced in Tonopah and Goldfield during the mining boom, served as district attorney of Nye county, later practiced law in Reno, and became a member of state supreme court. Senator Key Pittman, United States senator since 1912, is the leader of the other Democratic group. A southerner by birth, he became a practising lawyer in Seattle in 1892; mined on the Klondyke in the later '90's, and moved to Tonopah, Nevada, in 1901, from which place he was sent to the United States Senate. He is now president *pro tempore* of the Senate and chairman of the foreign relations committee. For the Republican party, ex-Senator Tasker L. Oddie is the outstanding living leader in Nevada at the present time. A native of Brooklyn, he first came to Nevada as the representative of Anson Phelps Stokes, of New York. He was prominent in mining operations in the Tonopah mines and was governor of Nevada, 1910-1914, and United States senator, 1921-1927.

Others who have taken an active interest in Republican state politics during recent years are: George Wingfield, former Republican national committeeman; Samuel Platt, lawyer, former Republican candidate for the United States Senate; Fred B. Balzar, Republican governor from 1927 until his death during his second term; Morley Griswold, lawyer, former lieutenant governor; and Noble Getchell, mine operator and state senator. Lester D. Summerfield is the present Republican national committeeman. Like the Democratic party in Nevada, the Republicans are split into two groups—the so-called group represented by Wingfield, Getchell, Griswold, Summerfield, and their associates, and an important but unorganized group which has, in a number of elections, refused to support the so-called old guard candidates in the elections. The cleavage between the two groups came to its greatest issue in the election of 1934, when thousands of Republicans voted for Richard Kirman, Democrat,

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for governor, against Morley Griswold, the Republican candidate. Kirman was elected.

The future of politics in Nevada will necessarily be determined by the progress of economic development. Forces which make for the simple life in economic pursuits, for individualism and for the essential democratic spirit are offset by the sharp and continuous impact of economic pressures arising from the problems of Great Basin environment. Theoretically interested in progressive political ideas, Nevada will doubtless continue to proceed cautiously toward their realization.

Chapter IV

WYOMING: A CATTLE KINGDOM

By HENRY J. PETERSON



Wyoming, home of the buffalo and the Indian, country of the trapper and the fur trader, claim of the prospector and the miner, range of the cowboy, the cattleman, and the sheep herder, land of the dry farmer and the irrigationist, ranch of the dude wrangler and bailiwick of the politician, this Wyoming is the subject of our study.

Wyoming occupies a plateau capped by minor ranges of the Rockies and pierced by many fertile river valleys. The Continental divide, which enters the state in Sweetwater county, passes through it in a northwesterly direction, dividing the state into the east and west slopes. Three of the large river systems of the nation have tributaries with their sources in Wyoming: the Colorado, the Columbia, and the Missouri. Nor must we forget that the Laramie and Platte rivers link the state of Wyoming to the states of Colorado and Nebraska, causing endless disputes over the proper division of their waters.

The soil of the state was claimed by the United States as part of the Louisiana purchase, as a section of the Oregon territory, as an extension of Texas, and as a corner of the Mexican cession. Wyoming was organized as a territory in 1868, then was admitted to the Union as a state in 1890.

French fur traders, at an early time, found their way to the vast plateaus of Wyoming; British fur traders followed. In an effort to trace a central land route from the Missouri river to the Oregon country, the Astorians crossed

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Wyoming in 1811. On their return, one of the Astor men, Robert Stuart, trailed the Overland Pass in a general way, to be followed later by bands of Oregon emigrants, the Utah-bound Mormons and the California gold seekers. During the next twenty or thirty years, American trappers and fur traders led a picturesque life in this western country. This was the period of such striking characters as Jim Bridger, Jim Baker, and Kit Carson.

The decline of trapping in Wyoming, due partly to the beaver hat being discarded for the silk top hat, as well as to the decrease in fur bearing animals, caused the trappers to look for new occupations. With many emigrant caravans passing through the country, the needs of the emigrants called for satisfaction. These former trappers, therefore, set up as guides and as traders to furnish the travelers with needed supplies, forerunners, it has been suggested, of the modern tourist camp manager. Thus were established Fort Laramie and Fort Bridger, Wyoming's first permanent settlements.

Many of Wyoming's pioneers came from the South after the Civil War and during the period of cattle trailing from Texas. Some came from the East but most of the people who came to Wyoming with the opening of the state to homestead were from the Middle West.

The population of the state in 1930 was 225,565. The average number of persons per square mile was, at that time, 2.3, excluding the Yellowstone National Park, thus giving the people of the state plenty of elbow room. Of the population, 214,067 are white, 1,250 Negroes, 1,845 Indians, 130 Chinese, 1,026 Japanese, with 7,247 mixed. Of the total population, 19,658 are foreign born, representing practically all the European countries.

To understand the Wyoming of today considerable historical background is necessary. It may seem that undue emphasis is given in this treatment to the period of the development of the cattle industry. It must be remembered, however, that for a number of years the cattle industry was Wyoming, that the cattlemen dominated the state, its institu-

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tions, and its people. As a result of their environment, they were extreme individualists who knew what they wanted and knew how to get it. Even today Wyoming is primarily a livestock state and the mark of Wyoming politics is individualism.

THE LIVESTOCK INDUSTRY

Based on the reports of early explorers and travelers, maps of the pre-Civil War period designated the great western plains, of which Wyoming is a part, as the Great American Desert.¹ It was reported as a country inhabited by Indians, savage and warlike. As California and Oregon developed, Wyoming was thought of merely as a dangerous part of the road to the coast. When emigrants found, however, that oxen, worn out and starved and turned loose in the fall, appeared the following spring in prime condition it was realized that Wyoming had a great future as a cattle country.

Wyoming soon became known as the finest grass range of the West. The problem of stocking the high plains and marketing the product was solved with the influx of Texas longhorns and the extension of the Union Pacific railroad. The building of the stockyards in large centers, with new methods of refrigeration and distribution, furnished the market. With treaty arrangements of 1868 with the Indians for the opening of the north and east parts of the territory to the white man, and with army protection, the cattle business grew rapidly. From this time until 1885, and perhaps a few years later, the cattle industry dominated the territory.

Glowing reports spread abroad in regard to the financial opportunities of the cattle business in Wyoming. It was claimed that profits of 25 to 40 per cent on money invested were usual, with possible profits up to 65 per cent under more favorable conditions. As the excitement increased

1. Daniel Webster was quite certain that this section of the United States "was not worth a cent" and that it was a "region of savages, wild beasts, shifting sands, whirlwinds of dust, cactus and prairie dogs."

there was a mad scramble to get into the business, culminating in a wild boom.

Historians of American frontier communities state that pioneers often outrun the law. They organize into extra-legal groups, adopt rules for their orderly living, and provide for their enforcement. So during these early years of the cattle industry there were formulated by the cattlemen rules and regulations, the so-called code of the West. The cattle kingdom was a world to itself and the cattle kingdom was Wyoming. Cheyenne was the capital of the principality as it was of the territory. It was also the social metropolis, with the Cheyenne Club as headquarters. The organization through which the cattlemen operated was the Wyoming Stock Grower's Association. This organization reported a membership of 363 in 1885 and represented ownership of two million head of cattle, valued at \$100,000,000. In judging the influence of the cattlemen at this period it must be remembered that for many years they constituted Wyoming's only general industry.

To supplement their extra-legal organization, members of the association were elected as members of the territorial legislature. These members introduced in that body the bills asked for or drafted by the association and saw to it that they were enacted into law. In 1884 the association was even recognized by the legislature as a territorial institution with the right to enforce statutes as they affected the cattle business.²

Although the more far-sighted cattlemen were beginning to see that a modification of methods on their part was necessary if the cattle industry was to remain prosperous, to most of them it never occurred that changes had to be made. The number of cattle was increasing beyond the capacity of the range; many companies were operating on borrowed capital; mismanagement, due in part to absentee ownership, was quite usual; values were inflated; buying

2. This legislation practically gave control of the range to the association. Membership in the association could be refused newcomers and participation in the general roundup thus, in practice, could be denied.

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cattle by book count was a usual procedure; illegal fencing of public lands became common; acquisition of homesteads in questionable ways was the practice. The final blow was the hot summer of 1886, with its lack of sufficient rain and its extensive prairie fires, followed by an early winter of cold weather and frequent blizzards, with ice-crusted snow. Not only was there a lack of grass but, even more important, water was scarce. Spring saw the large herds decreased by as much as 80 to 90 per cent. There was a stampede to sell out, with cattle companies and owners of large herds driven into bankruptcy. As if thoroughly to discourage the cattlemen, there followed years of low prices, due to poor quality, over supply, lack of an export market, perhaps also to a packer-controlled market.

Even with these handicaps, the cattlemen might have been able to adjust themselves. More fundamental conditions were operating, however, to make impossible a continuation of the cattle industry in the old picturesque way. Sheep were beginning to come in and were demanding a share of the range. The coming of the dry farmer suggested the end of the old haphazard open range grazing. For, as John Clay, Jr., remarked, "You can fight armies, a disease, a trespass, but the settler never. He advances slowly, surely, silently, like a great motor truck, pushing everything before him."

Following the catastrophe of 1886-87, more and more settlers were coming into the territory. The few large companies that had survived began to feel very keenly the combined competition of the settler and small cattlemen for the range. It was easy, under the circumstances, for the large owners to claim that all the owners of small herds were rustlers.³ If in their campaign against the small cattlemen they could also instill the fear of the Lord in the heart of

3. Rustling had developed from the custom of cowboys sometimes claiming mavericks and disposing of them to cattlemen, or keeping them as a nucleus for a herd. Concerning the situation Bill Nye wrote, "Three years ago a guileless tenderfoot came into Wyoming leading a single Texas steer and carrying a branding iron; now he is the opulent possessor of 600 head of fine cattle—the ostensible progeny of that one steer."

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the small settlers, it would be well. Against the big cattle-men, the settlers sided in with the small cattlemen.

It was not many years before there developed a strong class feeling between the two groups. On the defensive, the big companies organized the invasion of Johnson county.⁴ The big cattlemen lost and there followed a gradual adjustment on the part of the cattle industry to the changing conditions. The open range was almost gone. Moreover, with the better cattle of Hereford breed, it was realized that hay must be cut and winter feeding practiced. Today we have the herd of the small farmer and the cattleman's herd of from five hundred to three thousand or more. While the cattle may be run on federal forest range or the reserved Taylor area, leased from the government, in the winter they are usually cared for on the rancher's own improved ranch, where are to be found fences, corrals, sheds, and barns.

While the Wyoming Stock Grower's Association is not the power that it was in the eighties, its members cherish the memories of those days and are still one of the most powerful groups in the state.

Wyoming ranks second among the states in the total value of her sheep and sheep products, being distanced by Texas only. Due to the physical character of the area, Wyoming is better adapted to the sheep industry than most states.

It was in 1870 that sheep were first trailed into Wyoming from New Mexico. By 1878, there were nine thousand sheep in the state. The number gradually increased until 1910, when there were more than seven million sheep. Several factors tended to decrease that number, such as over-stocking the range, drought, severe winters, low prices, and crowding in of settlers. The number of sheep in the state

4. The "invasion" occurred in 1892. To form the invading "army" the big cattle companies hired twenty-five gun men from Denver and supplied twenty-four other men from their own employees. The purpose of the invaders was to terrorize the small cattlemen and settlers and drive them from the territory. The invading group was no match for the groups that they attacked, and only the arrival of national troops saved them from extinction.

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in recent years tends to vary from three and a half to four million.

Since the cattle industry was already established in Wyoming when sheep were brought in, they were not welcomed by the cattlemen. Their coming meant sharing the range and the range was already crowded, the cattlemen thought.

Writing in the *Annals of Wyoming*, John Le Roy Waller, of the University of Oklahoma, says that "opposition to the introduction of sheep was at first violent. During 1893 and 1894 a number of sheep outfits were raided by cattlemen. They marked off dead lines on the range, burned some sheep wagons, shot and clubbed to death sheep, and shot at and mistreated some of the sheepherders. It was very difficult to get convictions for these outrages at first for the sheepmen were without a fixed habitation and the cattlemen were in control of local affairs." De Forest Richards was a director in the Platte Sheep Company, one of the largest outfits. According to the writer, "he soon became governor of the state and this goes to prove that the sheep business had at last gained respectable recognition."

Today the income to the owners from cattle and sheep is about the same. Wyoming agricultural statistics for 1932 give the 1931 income from cattle as 24.5 per cent of the total agricultural income of the state and the income from the sale of lambs and wool as 29.1 per cent of the total income.

Although the cattleman still feels somewhat superior to the sheepman, many ranchmen own both sheep and cattle, and stockmen change from cattle to sheep or from sheep to cattle, depending on circumstances. The sheep industry has thus become one of Wyoming's major industries and is one of the state's chief sources of income.⁵

With the increasing attention given recreation in the United States, vacationing in the Rockies is becoming more popular every year. To accommodate Easterners intent on

5. At present, John Reed is president of the Wyoming Wool Grower's Association and J. Byron Wilson, secretary.

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a vacation of a certain type, dude ranches have developed. These ranches are located in the mountain region of Wyoming, the greater number of them being in the Yellowstone Park and Big Horn country. The basis for a dude ranch is the production of livestock, for the natural ranch setting cannot be simulated, and the usual dude season provides too short a use of valuable property and equipment to compensate entirely for the outlay required. So the dude ranchman must be, first of all, a real ranchman, well versed in the lore of livestock raising.

Since the operation of a successful dude ranch requires many special qualifications on the part of those who are connected with it, the University of Wyoming, some years ago, arranged a special course for those interested in dude ranching.

According to a bulletin, "Dude Ranches of Wyoming," published by the Wyoming Department of Commerce and Industry, there were 102 dude ranches in the state, June 1, 1937. According to Struthers Burt, "There are signs that the bonanza is slowly approaching its end. There are more dude ranches than ever, hundreds of them; all through Colorado, Arizona, New Mexico, Wyoming, Montana, and even Idaho. But any number of these dude ranches have within the last two years folded up, or else have settled down to the fairly lucrative, but less glamorous business of being road-houses and gasoline stations." It must be admitted, however, that dude ranchers, for their number, are well organized and have much influence in Wyoming legislation and administration.

AGRICULTURE

The beginning of agriculture in Wyoming may be traced to small communities established along the Oregon and Overland trails to supply the emigrant caravans with fresh oxen and hay. In time, irrigation ditches were dug to water the meadows. As the land was unsurveyed, the early settlers were squatters, without any legal rights or protection. These settlers, however, resolved themselves into self-governing

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groups to take action for their orderly living and provide for the proper procedure in locating and holding their claims.

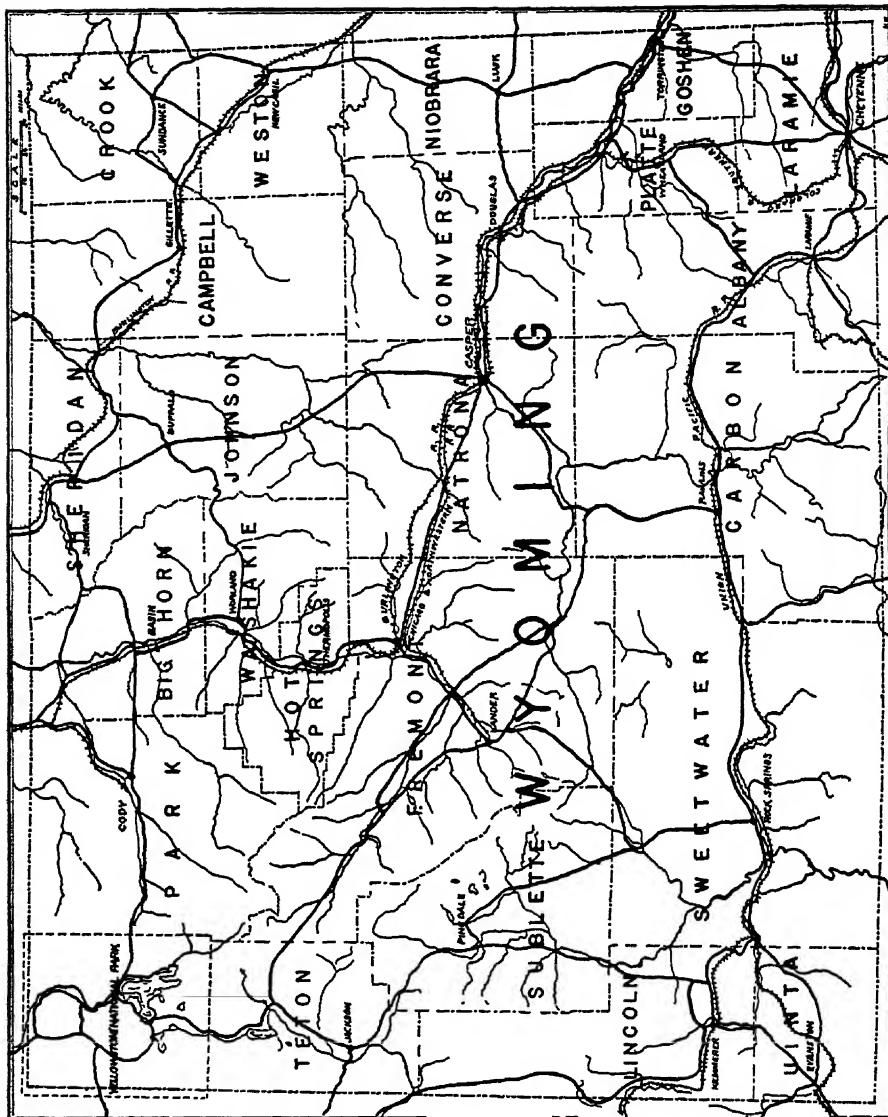
The federal census of 1870 gave Wyoming a population of 9,118, most of the residents living in small communities along the Union Pacific railroad. By 1880, the population had more than doubled. The coming of the Northern Pacific railroad into southern Montana, in 1883, and the Chicago and Northwestern into central Wyoming, in 1886, mark the beginning of rapid settlement of the central and northern part of the territory, the settlers coming mostly from the central states.⁶

The census report of 1890 gave Wyoming more than three times the population of 1880, or 62,555. The northern and central agricultural parts of the state reported excellent gains. Since then the population of the state has shown a steady growth.

Although the Homestead Act resulted in the rapid settlement of Wyoming, it is to be doubted now whether it was wise for Congress to have attempted to force the 160-acre homestead farm on the state. In a country where cattlemen dominated, and where it took from ten to thirty acres to furnish grass enough for a steer, there, necessarily, followed much fraud in adapting the law to the conditions. A few years ago, Congress took cognizance of this situation, suspended the Homestead Act, and passed in its place the Taylor Grazing Act. Under this latter act, the national government retains ownership of grazing lands and leases them to the cattle and sheep men. Administration of the law is left, in great part, to men chosen for each administrative unit by local stockmen. The Taylor Act is generally liked by the big cattlemen, for they believe it is based on realities. Certainly, it strengthens their economic and political hold on the state.

The land area of the state, not including the Yellowstone

6. The rapid settlement of Wyoming is indicated by the records of the land office sales. For the years 1873-83 the Cheyenne and Evanston land offices reported only about 200,000 acres taken up by settlers. During the single year of 1884 the Cheyenne office alone reported entries of more than 600,000 acres, and nearly 500,000 acres during the first ten months of 1885.



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National Park is 60,528,000 acres. According to the Wyoming department of agriculture, 1936, there are 1,656,400 acres of irrigated land. Of dry-farming land, Wyoming has at present about 6,000,000 acres while about 44,000,000 acres are classified as grazing land. The national forests, important from an agricultural angle, since grazing of cattle and sheep is permitted, comprise 8,663,200 acres. The national park area is 2,288,640 acres, important to the state because not subject to state taxation.

While Wyoming's chief natural resource is grass, the state is also rich in many other agricultural products and has varied sources of income. In the five-year period, 1928-1932, Wyoming's farmers averaged 2,341,000 bushels of corn, 3,632,000 bushels of wheat, 3,302,000 bushels of oats, 2,219,000 bushels of barley, 2,422,000 bushels of potatoes, 306,000 hundred-pound bags of beans, 1,142,000 tons of hay, and 531,00 tons of sugar beets.

NATURAL RESOURCES

Prospecting for gold in Wyoming dates from 1865. During the next several years, there was considerable prospecting and mining in the Big Horn region. South Pass City became a flourishing mining town with the great rush in 1868 and 1869. The year 1870, however, marked the close of the boom. A rush in the nineties again produced much excitement but little gold. The Fortunas Mining Company invested, it is said, a half million dollars and never recovered it. According to the United States Geological Survey, the total production of gold in Wyoming from 1867 to 1924 was only \$1,237,624. Some gold is still mined in the state, the production in 1935 being valued at \$145,920.

While comparatively little copper is produced in Wyoming at present, at one time Encampment was a flourishing center of copper production, about \$2,000,000 worth having been taken from the mines during the time of active mining. Some silver and a little lead are also produced in the state.

Wyoming iron comes from the Sunrise district in the eastern section. From 1925 to 1929, the average production

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was 510,630 tons of iron ore yearly, with the iron in the ore averaging about 55 per cent. The iron ore is shipped to Pueblo, Colorado, for smelting, a fact to which Wyoming people object.

Wyoming's great mineral resources are coal and petroleum. Coal has been mined in Wyoming for many years. Available reserves within two thousand feet of the surface are estimated at approximately seven hundred billion tons. Deeper mining suggests almost unbelievable totals. Coal production in 1935 was 5,165,786 tons. The value of the coal mined from 1925 to 1934 was \$143,152,000. At present, the coal industry is meeting sharp competition from the gas producers.

Petroleum was first produced near Casper and was treated for its lubrication content. With transportation improvement and the development of the gasoline industry, oil production increased rapidly. It was in Wyoming that Harry Sinclair, in attempting to acquire the Tea Pot Dome property, mixed oil and politics with amply publicized results. From 1893 to 1935, Wyoming produced 401,365,324 barrels of petroleum. Petroleum produced from 1925 to 1934 had a value of \$248,464,000.

Among non-metallic minerals, the possibility of phosphate development has drawn attention. The deposits occur in the western part of the state as well as in Utah and Idaho. They are not being operated at present, due to transportation difficulties, but it is thought that they may be in the future.

The state has an almost unlimited source of cement rock. A cement plant with a daily capacity of 2,200 barrels has been in operation near Laramie since 1929. Building stone of many kinds is also available in almost unlimited quantity. Sandstone, quarried near Laramie, has been used in recent years in the erection of the university buildings. Numerous other non-metallic minerals are also found in the state and will, no doubt, be developed as needed.

The value of the minerals produced in Wyoming during 1934 was \$27,640,000. The energy producing minerals contributed 96.4 per cent of the total mineral wealth produced

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in the decade from 1925 to 1934. Metals contributed about 1.3 per cent of the wealth, and non-metals 2.3 per cent during the same period. It is claimed by some writers that Wyoming has more oil and coal than any other equal area on the globe.

Wyoming minerals have not contributed to the economic well being of the state's citizens as it seems reasonable they should. Many of the natural resources have been secured by out-of-state interests, sometimes by questionable means. State labor feels cheated when iron ore is shipped to Colorado for smelting and oil is piped to Utah for refining. The use of Tulsa plus in fixing the gasoline retail prices is resented. Much of the coal was acquired by the Union Pacific railroad as a subsidy for building the road. No satisfactory system of taxation for minerals has yet been secured, and a highly efficient lobby sees to it that no changes are made in the present schedule.

LABOR

Organized labor has a relatively long history in Wyoming. The Wyoming Typographical Union No. 184 is the oldest chartered union in the state with fifty-nine years to its credit. The railway unions were also organized at an early date. It was in 1909 that the United Mine Workers asked for a charter for a Wyoming State Federation of Labor, the first state meeting being held in Cheyenne the following year. The federation continued intact until 1937, when the United Mine Workers withdrew and formed the nucleus of the present Congress of Industrial Unions.

Organized labor had been increasingly effective up to and including 1937 in securing favorable action on desirable legislation and defeating proposed legislation considered undesirable. The legislative session of 1939, however, did not seem as responsive to labor's program as in the past. There seem to have been several reasons for this situation. The House of Representatives included many inexperienced members, several of whom were, if not unfriendly to, at least not interested in organized labor. Then, too, public

opinion has rather turned against organized labor, as indicated by legislation in such states as Oregon and Minnesota. The employers of the state took advantage of this situation and presented a united front against labor, and legislation desired by labor. A final consideration is the situation in the ranks of labor. While the state leaders of C. I. O. and A. F. of L. have their offices on the same floor of the same building in Cheyenne and are on the best of terms—in fact, they claim the relation between the leaders of the two organizations is better than in any other state—the fact remains that some of the local groups over the state do not share this feeling and so do not give their leaders the support they have in the past. The legislative committee of the unions prepared and secured the introduction of several bills and favored other bills which it considered beneficial to labor. It had little success, however, in securing favorable action by the legislature.⁷

THE CHURCH, THE PRESS, AND THE SCHOOL

As in so many pioneer communities, the missionary was the first religious leader in Wyoming. As early as 1835 the Reverend Samuel Parker and Dr. Marcus Whitman, Presbyterian workers, passed through Wyoming. Finding trappers, traders, and Indians gathered for the Annual Grand Rendezvous on the Green river for fur trading, Parker preached to them. The Reverend Peter J. DeSmet, S. J.—Father DeSmet—must be given credit, however, for the first missionary work of importance in Wyoming. In 1883, the Reverend John Roberts was sent to the Wind River Reservation by the Episcopal church as a missionary to the Shoshone Indians, among whom he still lives.

The coming of the Union Pacific brought many people of the Catholic faith to Wyoming. A factor in the early activity of the Episcopal church was the coming to the territory of many Englishmen, who were members of the

7. To promote the welfare of labor in the state, a law was passed in 1917 creating the Department of Labor and Statistics. This action was taken by the legislature after several years of agitation on the part of organized labor. The function of the department is to enforce laws which are intended to promote the welfare of labor. The office is usually held by a union man who works in harmony with organized labor.

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organization. The Mormon settlements in Wyoming were expansions of the Idaho and Utah groups.

In 1926, all religious organizations in Wyoming had a membership of 62,975. Of these churches, the Catholic had 18,772 members, the Mormon group 11,610, the Methodist faith 6,923, the Presbyterians 6,687, the Episcopal organization 6,020, the Baptists 3,459, and the Congregational church 2,030.

It is difficult to measure the influence of the church in Wyoming. The cattlemen, the sheepmen, and the early settlers were primarily interested in improving their economic conditions. Life was hard and they had little time for matters cultural and spiritual. This attitude still dominates the state and so most of the local churches are weak and church attendance meager. It would seem, therefore, that the church, as yet, is not in a position of much influence, political or otherwise. Exception may be made of one or two of the church bodies which do exercise some power over their members, at least in local public affairs.

While a newspaper was printed for a few months in the sixties, the first permanent paper was published in Cheyenne. The Cheyenne *Leader* appeared only a few weeks after the settlement of that village. The publishers were Nathan A. Baker and J. E. Gates. Referring to Cheyenne as "the infant prodigy and railroad center of the West," its first issue reported that "some six weeks ago but two houses indicated the city's location where now between one and two hundred houses stand to attest the vigor with which American people set about important undertakings. Having full conviction of the destined importance of this point, we have come among you to print a newspaper and we ask, as the pioneer journal, that cordial support which we know will spring from persistent, effective labors for the commercial growth of our city."

In politics the *Leader* was classified as independent Republican. Started as a weekly, it was soon issued as a daily paper. After several changes in management it was acquired by Colonel E. A. Slack, in 1895, combined with the

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Sun, and published as the *Sun-Leader*. It was purchased by I. S. Bartlett in 1906 and became an organ of the Democratic party.

One of the most interesting newspaper characters of early Wyoming history was Bill Nye. Coming to Laramie in 1876, he became the editor of the Laramie *Daily Sentinel*. The Laramie *Boomerang* was established by a stock company in 1881 as a Republican paper and Nye became its editor. The newspaper office was over a livery barn. Over the stairway leading to the office Bill Nye put the sign, "Twist the tail of the gray mule and take the elevator." In 1883, he sold the paper and left the state.

Another well-known Wyoming journalist was Merris Clark Barrow, who wrote under the pseudonym of "Bill Barlow." He came to Wyoming in 1879 and became city editor of the Laramie *Daily Times*. Later he held the same position with the Laramie *Boomerang*. When Bill Nye resigned, he became the managing editor of the paper. After holding a similar position with the Rawlins *Tribune* he moved to Douglas and established *The Budget*. Soon after locating in Douglas, he also began the publication of a monthly magazine called *Sagebrush Philosophy*. Its wit and philosophy soon gave it a national reputation. On the death of Barrow in 1910, the magazine was discontinued as it was realized that no one could take his place as its editor.

Since Wyoming is a state of small towns, the greater number of newspapers are weeklies. At present, there are twelve dailies published in the state and about fifty weeklies. Many of the papers are partisan, more being Republican than Democratic. About 40 per cent of the papers are independent. In recent years, there has been some tendency to consolidate. One group of men controls seven papers, two in Cheyenne and in Laramie; one in each of the towns of Newcastle, Rock Springs, and Worland. It is rather interesting to note that, in the towns in which this group controls two newspapers, the morning papers are run as Democratic papers and the evening papers as Republican. Needless to say, partisanship of this type is not taken very seriously.

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Someone has said that education is America's religion. It is not at all strange, therefore, that the first territorial legislature passed a law providing for an educational system. The constitutional convention also provided that the new state have a system of public schools and a university with the provision that there be no discrimination in the schools on account of sex, race, or color. Present legislation provides for a school system supervised by an elected superintendent of public instruction. A state board of education also appoints a commissioner of education. With so many isolated ranches, Wyoming has a number of ranch home schools with only one or two pupils. There has been an attempt in recent years to close the single pupil schools by providing transportation to larger schools.

The capstone of the educational system of the state is the state university, at Laramie. September 6, 1887, was the date of its formal opening. Governor John W. Hoyt was the first president. He was assisted by a faculty of six, including Aven Nelson, later to become an internationally known botanist.

Poor transportation facilities, antagonism between north and south sections of the state, the feeling that the university was a Laramie institution, political control of the university, lack of financial support, and a poor physical plant, all these factors combined to keep down the university attendance. It was not until 1918 that the student body numbered more than four hundred. As these conditions were changed, and there developed the post-war feeling that all must go to college, the university's attendance rapidly increased. The university at present (1939) has a faculty of 160 members and a student body of more than two thousand.

Arthur Griswold Crane came to the university as president in 1922. Dr. Crane's long service is part of the explanation of the fine development of the university in recent years. Of Dr. Crane's contributions to the growth of the university, first must be mentioned his building program. It was in 1923 that he secured the passage of the law which

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gives the university, for permanent improvements, 9 per cent of the state's share of the federal oil royalties. As a setting for the buildings, Dr. Crane is responsible for the development of a splendid campus. He has also been able to sell the university to the state, and the result is that it is no longer an institution of Laramie or of southern Wyoming, but of the state.

POLITICAL PARTIES

Under normal conditions Wyoming has been and is Republican in politics. In late years, however, abnormal conditions have almost become normal, making Wyoming party affiliations somewhat uncertain. Cattlemen and sheepmen have usually been Republican. A high tariff on wool and exclusion of Canadian cattle and Argentine beef present a program which fits in very well with Republican platforms. The farmers who came into the state in the eighties and nineties from the Middle West carried with them membership cards in the Republican party. As some of them became sugar beet producers and potato growers they became all the more assertive as to the need of a high protective tariff, reclamation projects, and the desirability of continuing the Republican party in power. Corporations, influential in the state, are usually Republican in sympathy. Under necessary circumstances, however, they do not hesitate to use Jay Gould's procedure and play with either or both parties. Before the depression, a Republican dinner usually had in attendance a goodly number of corporation officials and attorneys. Even when there is a turning to the Democratic party as a protest in times of depression, or on account of a family quarrel in the Republican party, it is interesting to note that the state legislature, a fair index of party affiliations, has usually remained Republican. So, also, many counties, voting Democratic on state and national officers, remain loyal to the basic organization of the party by electing Republican county officials.

Those who came from the South, their descendants, the greater number of the laboring class, and a minority among

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the groups already mentioned usually made up the Democratic party in the past as well as at present.

During territorial days, Wyoming was strongly Republican. While the first state election resulted in a Republican victory, the threat of a growing Democratic and Populist opposition was apparent in the comparatively large vote cast for the Democratic candidates. The Republicans, however, elected all their candidates for the state executive offices and also controlled both houses of the legislature.

The economic unrest resulting from the beginnings of the depression further strengthened the Populist movement in the state in 1892 and also increased the Democratic vote. The Populists fused with the Democratic party with the understanding that the Democrats would support the Populist presidential candidate and the Populists would support the Democratic state ticket.

Aside from the Populist wave which was sweeping the country at that time, another situation had much to do with the Wyoming political situation. Following the Johnson county war, those who were opposed to the cattlemen linked the so-called "Cheyenne cattle ring" with the Republican party organization. At the Democratic convention of the year, those who sympathized with the Stock Grower's Association were read out of the party, and the chairman of the convention, who had formerly been an attorney for the association, was deposed. The Republicans were on the defensive and tried to show that they were not responsible for the Johnson county invasion. Senator Warren declared that "he knew no more about it and contributed no more to it than a child unborn."⁸

In the election, the Republican electors were successful, but by a mere seven hundred votes. The Democratic-Populist state ticket was elected and a silver Democrat elected congressman. In the legislature, the Populists held the balance of power but voted for Mrs. I. S. Bartlett for United

8. The election emphasized Wyoming north against Wyoming south, a division which was to plague Wyoming politicians in many future campaigns, including that of 1938.

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States senator, thus preventing an election. She was the first woman to be nominated by a legislative caucus for that office. With no election, Wyoming was represented by only one senator during the next two years.

When the next election came, the voters had forgotten their grievances and the Republican party was again in control. Warren was sent back to the Senate, giving the state again its full representation. The depression of 1893, the Democratic tariff with its free wool schedule, and Populist refusal to fuse again with the Democrats, were all factors in returning the Republicans to power. In the legislature, the Democrats had only four senators and two representatives, one representative being elected as a Democrat-Populist.

In the 1896 election, free silver had a strong appeal in Wyoming as a panacea for low prices, with the result that a fusion of Democrats and Populists selected Democratic electors while the Democratic candidate for Congress defeated the Republican, Mondell. The legislature, however, continued Republican and that party remained in control in the state until 1910.

Following the election of William H. Taft, in 1908, there gradually developed opposition to Republican leadership. The result was a split into the Standpat and Progressive factions. President Taft showed poor political leadership and attempted to read those who did not agree with him out of the Republican party.

While Wyoming has been usually Republican in politics, the voters of the state are individualists and have always been free in scratching their tickets. Cattlemen, and later sheepmen, by environment if not by birth, were a law unto themselves, leaving their impress on the state. Dry farmers and ranchers living to themselves—neighbors, perhaps, twenty-five miles away—developed the same individualistic characteristics. It is also to be remembered that Wyoming for many years was dominated by family dynasties such as the Careys and the Warrens. These families were able to influence many voters.

The 1910 campaign in Wyoming illustrates the individ-

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realistic character of the Wyoming voter and the influence of family groups. Although declaring himself a Republican, Joseph M. Carey assumed leadership of the Progressive faction and announced himself as an independent candidate for governor. There were also two factions in the Democratic party at this time. The Democrats understood that Carey would accept the Democratic nomination for the office of governor if the party adopted a platform satisfactory to him. Although there were thirty-six votes against him and the Johnson county delegation bolted the state convention, Carey was offered and accepted the Democratic nomination.

The voters of the period must have enjoyed themselves thoroughly in this election. Carey was elected governor by a plurality of almost six thousand votes. The voters, however, had come to have much confidence in their Republican congressman, Frank W. Mondell, and re-elected him by almost as large a plurality as they had elected Carey. The rest of the successful ticket was also mixed as to party affiliation. Houx, the Democratic candidate for the office of secretary of state, was elected by a plurality of only thirty-seven; Miss Rose A. Bird was elected superintendent of public instruction by 1,343 votes. The Republicans, on the other hand, elected their candidates for the offices of treasurer and auditor. The voters also continued a Republican legislature.

When the Progressives issued their call for the selection of delegates to a Progressive national convention in 1912, Joseph M. Carey assumed the leadership of the Progressive forces in Wyoming. A state meeting was called to select delegates to the Chicago convention. Not many attended the Wyoming meeting, but it is interesting to note that one of the members was Sheridan Downey, at present a senator from California. Delegates were selected to the national convention and a state ticket was also named. The result of the Republican break was to elect Democratic electors. Roosevelt ran a poor third in the state, getting only nine thousand votes. Mondell was returned to the House of Representatives and the Republicans, as usual, retained control of both houses of the state legislature.

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In the campaign of 1914, the Progressives and Democrats combined on John B. Kendrick as their candidate for governor. The election resulted in the selection of Kendrick for governor and Frank L. Houx for secretary of state. Otherwise the Republicans succeeded in electing their candidates.

In the election of 1916, the Progressives failed to nominate candidates. Wilson's record for progressive legislation and the association of Hughes with reactionary forces gave Wilson the Progressive support. In this campaign, Carey was a Wilson man. Mondell, however, was again returned to Congress.

In 1918, the Progressive group returned to the Republican ranks, and all state candidates elected were Republicans. It is interesting to notice that Robert D. Carey, son of Joseph M. Carey, the former Progressive leader, was forgiven by the party organization and elected governor on its ticket. The result of the election of 1920 was the choice of only one Democratic member of the Wyoming House of Representatives, Thurman Arnold, at present assistant in the United States Attorney General's office, and author of the well-known book, *The Folklore of Capitalism*.

Since Mondell had served in the House of Representatives for thirteen terms—1894-1896 and 1898-1923—he felt that he was entitled to promotion. He announced his candidacy for the senatorship in 1922 and received the Republican nomination. Since the voters felt they were well represented in the Senate by Kendrick, Mondell was defeated by more than nine thousand votes. Because of disagreement in the Republican organization, John Hay, Republican candidate for governor, was also defeated but by less than one thousand votes, William B. Ross being elected. The Republicans elected all the other state officers.

Governor Ross passed away a month before the general election of 1924. The Democrats nominated his widow as a candidate to fill out the unexpired term, while the Republicans nominated Eugene J. Sullivan. In spite of the Coolidge landslide of the year, Mrs. Ross was elected by a plurality of

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more than seven thousand votes. Since Mrs. Ross was elected to fill out the unexpired term of her husband, she was credited the honor of being the first woman governor of a state. The term for which Mrs. Ferguson, of Texas, was elected did not begin until the January following. Since Wyoming was the first equal suffrage state, Mrs. Ross' election was appropriate. It is interesting to notice that in this election Coolidge received 41,848 votes; LaFollette, 25,174; and Davis, the Democratic candidate, received only 12,868. The labor vote was almost solid for LaFollette. In the same election, the voters returned Warren to the Senate and Charles E. Winter to the House of Representatives, both being candidates on the Republican ticket.

Mrs. Ross made a good record as governor. In order to present a united front against her, the Republicans called a pre-primary convention to agree on a party candidate to present to the Republicans at the primary. The organization decided to support Frank C. Emerson, who had for some years served as state engineer. Two other Republicans decided to announce their candidacy for the nomination in spite of the recommendation of the pre-primary convention but received only a small vote. The result of the election was the selection of Emerson by a plurality of a little more than a thousand votes.⁹

In the 1928 elections, the Wyoming voters demonstrated their trust and confidence in Kendrick as well as their independent spirit by continuing him in the Senate, Kendrick having a six thousand plurality over Winter, the Republican candidate. Hoover, Republican candidate for president, meanwhile, carried the state by 23,449 plurality and the Republican candidate for congressman was also elected by a goodly vote. In the following election, the Republicans were again successful, electing most of their national and state candidates by majorities of from twelve thousand to twenty thousand. Emerson, the Republican candidate for governor, however, was elected over Leslie A. Miller by less than a thousand votes, while Mrs. Morton's majority over

9. Mrs. Ross at present holds the position of Director of the Mint.

the Democratic candidate for superintendent of public instruction was less than 1,400.

The result of the following presidential election, in 1932, was a good illustration of how voters blame the administration for hard times and low prices. Hoover electors, who in 1928, had received a majority of about 23,000 were now defeated by about 15,000. Vincent Carter, Republican, however, was returned to the House of Representatives by less than two thousand votes, the American Legion vote plus the normal Republican vote being responsible for his reëlection. Miller, the Democratic candidate, was elected governor over Weston by 870 votes.

The Wyoming voters were evidently satisfied with President Roosevelt's administration. In addition, the Republicans attempted to get back to power without much of a program. The Democratic electors, in 1936, were successful, carrying the state by almost 24,000. H. H. Schwartz defeated Senator Carey, though by only 8,500 votes. The Democrats were also successful in electing their candidate for the lower house by a little more than fourteen thousand majority.

The Republicans, in 1938, were still demoralized from their depression defeat. Being out of power also had the effect of dissipating leadership of the party. Before the depression, when the party was in power, the Republicans had more leaders than they could provide with positions. With defeat, the leaders seemed to disappear. In the last primary election, few men of outstanding ability came out as candidates for party nominations since few expected the party to win.

The Democrats, on the other hand, were confident of victory and Governor Miller described how his administration had saved the state considerable money and introduced better business methods, enumerated the many laws passed for the benefit of labor, explained the legislation enacted to secure the benefits of the National Social Security Act, and promised to work for the repeal of the food sales tax. He also pointed with pride to the record of his party in handling the

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liquor problem, and the wise use of the money secured from the wholesaling of liquor by the state. The farm legislation and road building program of his administration were also emphasized.

To the surprise of most voters, the Republican candidate for governor, Nels H. Smith, was elected by a majority of almost fifteen thousand. Miller carried only two counties, one being the university county, which usually, for obvious reasons, tends to lag an election behind. Republicans also elected their candidates for state treasurer, and superintendent of public instruction, while the Democrats were able to reelect their candidates for the offices of secretary of state and state auditor. The election of these two candidates seems to have been due to the fact they had served only one term, that they had carried on the work of their offices very efficiently, and that they were both very popular men.

Many explanations have been offered for the election results. The Republicans had in their favor the fact that Wyoming is normally Republican. Certain national situations also influenced voters in favor of the Republicans. There was a decided drift from the New Deal and the desire to get back to "normalcy." Among the cattlemen, there was also much opposition to the Democrats' reciprocal-trade-agreements. The Republican candidate for governor carried on a well-planned campaign. Instead of making speeches he made a hand-shaking, back-slapping campaign, reaching all parts of the state. He was the simple, shrewd ranchman who knew the problems of his class, while Miller, the Cheyenne business man, had not even reduced the price of the ranchmen's gasoline. The Democrats, on the other hand, did not present a united front. There was factionalism and jealousy among the leaders. It was charged that Governor Miller had promised to retire at the end of his term and permit Congressman Greever to run for governor. Also, there was the feeling that Miller and his Cheyenne supporters were trying to dominate the party. Governor Miller had made promises in regard to reduction of oil prices without getting any results. He was also accused of being rather

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arrogant in his relation to the voters. It was claimed that organized labor turned against him because of the tax on food, which was passed during his administration. With some voters, the third term argument was an influence. It was also charged that he had retained too many Republicans in office.

Governor Smith came into office with a Republican legislature to support his program. In his message to the legislature, Governor Smith said that he had refrained from recommending any appropriation for the State Planning Board since he felt that it could be combined with the State Water Conservation Board and thus save the state \$10,000. Such legislation was enacted. The new State Planning and Water Conservation Board was given the power to make a survey of possible ways of conserving, storing, and distributing water, to study the state's transportation needs and recreational facilities, to conduct a soil survey, to study the adaptability of various parts of the state for crops, range, and recreation, to examine the mineral resources of the state, to inquire into the development of fish and game life, and to formulate and recommend to the governor before the meeting of each session of the legislature a definite program for the proper conservation, development, and most beneficial utilization of the resources of the state. Truly a very desirable and ambitious program. The final section of the law, however, declares it to be the primary function of the board to further the development and conservation of the waters of the state. It is interesting to see that the governor recently appointed a committee to study the drouth situation in its relation to the state's livestock industry and failed to designate a single member of the State Planning and Water Conservation Board as a member.

A policy much stressed during the campaign and emphasized by Governor Smith in his message was repeal of the sales tax on foodstuffs. Various pressure groups opposed such action, and since the governor did not seem to press the issue, the food sales tax was continued.

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THIRD PARTIES

The voters of Wyoming have not been inclined to look with favor upon the solutions to problems suggested by third party groups and have preferred, in the main, to act in the orthodox American fashion by trailing along with Republican and Democratic leadership. However, at times, there has been a measure of third party activity. When the depression and low prices of the nineties came, Wyoming farmers joined the Middle West in the agricultural revolt as expressed in the Populist movement.

In the campaign of 1892, in Wyoming, Democrats supported the national ticket of the People's party while the Populists voted for the Democratic candidates for state offices. The result was that the Populists lost the national ticket, and the Democrats won the state offices.¹⁰ In the campaign of 1894, the Populists refused to fuse with the Democrats and the Republicans again gained control of the state.

In the free silver campaign of 1896, the Populists again fused with the Democrats, and the fusion candidates for electors were successful, but the Populist candidate for Congress received only 628 votes. Although the Populists nominated candidates for all offices in 1898, the Republicans carried the election. The Populists continued to nominate candidates for office in succeeding elections, but with the return of better times the farmers drifted back to the Republican party.

It was in 1902 that the Socialists first nominated candidates in Wyoming. The Socialist vote in the state has been primarily a protest vote, hardly a vote based on acceptance of Socialist principles. In this election the vote for the Socialist candidate for governor was 552. This vote gradually increased, and for the next few elections the Socialist vote varied from fifteen hundred to eighteen hundred. The highest point for the Socialists was 1932, when they polled

10. One of the factors in the election of 1892 was the Johnson county war. Many Republicans of the north part of the state felt that the Republican party had backed the Cheyenne cattlemen and, therefore, voted the Democratic ticket.

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2,829 votes. This was evidently part of the protest vote against Hoover and his policies, not a vote for Thomas as a candidate, since in 1936 he received only two hundred votes. The Socialist vote is scattered over the state and not restricted to laboring communities.

The vote for Carey in 1910 hardly represents a third party movement but rather a disagreement between the Carey and Warren factions in the Republican party. The success of Carey was made possible by a fusion of the Carey Republicans with the Democrats. In the 1912 election, when the Carey group assumed leadership of the Progressive party, Roosevelt received only nine thousand votes. Governor Carey supported Wilson in 1916, but the Republican factions composed their differences by the following election and elected as governor, Robert Carey, Joseph M. Carey's son.

In recent years, minor parties have been more active in Wyoming. The LaFollette vote of 1924 was almost twice that of the Democratic candidate for president. Labor was solid for LaFollette, and many Democrats, feeling that there was little to choose between Coolidge and Davis, voted for him. No doubt many of the progressive wing of the Republican party also voted for the third party candidate.

There have been some other minor parties nominating candidates in Wyoming. In 1920, the Farmer-Labor party nominated candidates for presidential electors. This party cast 2,180 votes for their candidates. Combining the Farmer-Labor and Socialist vote of that year gave a third party vote of 3,500. The Prohibition party has also nominated candidates at various times, but their vote has never been more than a few hundred. The Communist party was organized in Wyoming shortly after the war; its vote in 1936 was less than a hundred.

At present, there seems to be very little enthusiasm for third parties in Wyoming. If the Lemke vote, a resurrection of the Populist movement of the nineties, is disregarded, the third party vote in 1936, including Communist, Socialist, and Prohibition, was only 366.

W Y O M I N G

SELECTION OF PARTY CANDIDATES

The direct primary law was introduced in Wyoming in 1910 as a part of the progressive legislation of that period. The primary is held on the first Tuesday after the third Monday of August of general election years.

The direct primary, as a method of selecting candidates, applies to all elective offices. Party committee men are also chosen at primaries. Candidates for district and supreme court judges, as well as candidates for county superintendent of schools, are chosen at the same time and place on non-partisan tickets. Nominal fees must accompany the nomination papers of all candidates, except for party committee men and a few minor local offices.

The Wyoming direct primary is a closed primary, and party tickets are distinguished by differences in color. Voters are required to declare their party preference at the time of their first voting and receive the same party ballot at subsequent primaries, unless they officially change their party affiliation. Such change may be made by notifying the county clerk within ten days of the primary.

Party committees are made up of both sexes. A committee man and a committee woman are selected by each party in the election precinct and all those chosen in the town or city serve as the municipal committee. A city ward must have at least two men and two women as members. The committee members chosen in the county serve as the county committee of the party. The county convention selects delegates to the state convention, the basis of representation being determined by the state convention. The state convention, in presidential years, nominates party candidates for presidential elections, adopts a party platform, and selects delegates to the national convention.

A political party in Wyoming is defined as a party which, at the last preceding election, cast at least 10 per cent of the vote for representative to Congress. Parties casting less than the prescribed 10 per cent nominate their candidates at conventions held on the same date as the primary.

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Nominations may also be made by petition, but such candidates may not use the name of any political party.

Voting at the primary registers voters for the general election in precincts in which registration is required. Voters who do not vote at the primary must register at the regular time and place decided by law with regular registry agents. The absent voter's law applies to the primary as well as to the general election.

The direct primary is not popular with the party leaders. They would like to return to the old caucus-convention system since they claim the primary destroys party organization and party responsibility. However, the members of each party fear to pass the necessary legislation, as they believe the party taking such action would be accused by the other party of undemocratic sympathies.

The state parties have the usual party committees. Chairman of the Republican state committee is J. B. Griffith. Platt Wilson is chairman of the Democratic state committee.

PARTY LEADERS

Joseph C. O'Mahoney and Harry H. Schwartz, both Democrats, are, at the present time, Wyoming's United States senators.

Joseph C. O'Mahoney is a self-educated man who studied law while serving as Senator Kendrick's private secretary. Before being appointed, and later elected, United States senator, he was first assistant postmaster general. Opposition to the president's supreme court plan, his bill for national incorporation of corporations, and his chairmanship of the Temporary National Economic Committee have brought him national recognition.

Harry H. Schwartz was born and educated in Ohio and came to Wyoming in 1916 after completing his law course at the University of South Dakota. Before being elected to the United States Senate in 1936 as a New Deal Democrat, he had served as a member of precinct, county, state, and national Democratic committees. At different times he had

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also served in the Interior and Justice Departments on public land cases, and in the Wyoming state senate.

Wyoming's sole congressman at the present time is Frank O. Horton, a Republican. He is the owner of a 100,000 acre dude ranch, and is a leader in both the Stock-grower's and Woolgrower's Associations. After serving in the state legislature for several sessions, he was elected congressman in 1939.

Nels H. Smith, Republican, the present governor of Wyoming, is a ranchman in politics. He is the owner of an 18,000 acre cattle and wheat ranch, and has had a varied experience in Wyoming politics, having been a local school board member, county commissioner, state highway commissioner, and state legislator. He was elected governor in 1938.

Other political leaders worthy of mention include: Tracy McCracken, a Democrat who controls seven state newspapers, some Democratic, others Republican; Herbert J. King, Republican, leader in the Woolgrower's Association and president of the Wyoming Farm Bureau; Milward L. Simpson, Republican, active American Legionnaire, and chairman of the western organization of the Young Republican clubs; and James B. Griffith, editor. Leslie A. Miller, former Democratic governor, is also a leader of some influence.

PRESSURE POLITICS

Even in the early days of our national history, fear was expressed by political writers that strong minority groups would get control of the government and use it for their own selfish purposes. Today that danger seems even greater. In common with the national government and other states, Wyoming has had its share in this problem.

The building of the Union Pacific railroad was the most important factor in bringing livestock men and settlers to Wyoming. When Wyoming complains about high freight rates—and rates are high in Wyoming—it also remembers that without the Union Pacific the state could not have been developed, and so takes much pride in the well-managed road. However, since coming to the territory, it has been,

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at least until recently, the most important influence in Wyoming politics. Discussing territorial days, one writer refers to Wyoming as a "satrapy of the Union Pacific." The state and local governmental units have usually been anxious to pass legislation desired by the Union Pacific. Legislation to regulate caravans has been so effective that but few are seen on the Lincoln highway. When the interests of organized labor are not opposed to those of the Union Pacific, the representatives of each coöperate with the other. At the last session of the legislature, the Union Pacific and organized labor combined to secure the enactment of a law requiring public buildings to use coal instead of gas. Here, however, they aroused the opposition of the Standard Oil Company. With economy being on the side of Standard Oil, the Union Pacific and the labor unions lost. Compared to earlier days, however, the Union Pacific is not greatly interested in state political power, because railroad control has almost completely passed to the national government. Other groups have also come to the front to share the influence of the railroad.

Next to the Union Pacific, the early cattlemen were most powerful in territorial days. In their early days, the cattlemen made and enforced their own rules. Many laws were drawn up by the officials of the Wyoming Stock Grower's Association and presented to the legislature, which promptly passed the requested legislation. The association also sent its own men to the legislature to represent the cattlemen. Legislation of 1884 recognized the Stock Grower's Association as a quasi-public institution with full legal control over the stock industry. When there was some protest against such relationship between the state and the association, the Live Stock Board was created, but with the provision that the members of the board must be cattlemen or stock owners in cattle companies. During the Johnson county dispute the state government, and even the national government, seem to have been dominated by the cattlemen. Today, although not as powerful as in earlier days, the cattlemen

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are still a power in Wyoming's legislative halls and have retained some of the prestige of earlier days.

Not having the background of the cattlemen, the sheepmen have never been as dominating as the cattlemen. Some of the able men of Wyoming, however, such as Senator Warren, have been sheepmen and they have usually known how to ask for what they wanted from the legislature. Their long struggle against the cattlemen for grazing rights in the early days of Wyoming has made the sheepmen a more compact group, and it is not often that they come out second best in their struggle for economic advantage.

An interesting development of recent years has been the organization of the Agricultural Council. This is made up of such organizations as The Stock Grower's Association, The Wool Grower's Association, The Farm Bureau, The Bean Grower's Association, the Turkey Growers, the Beet Growers, and the Honey Producers. This council, when the member units agree on a program, is usually able to secure the legislation it desires. It is not always easy, however, to agree on a program.

In more recent years, the oil companies have become very powerful in the state and maintain a strong lobby at Cheyenne during the legislative session. It has been able to ward off legislation providing for state competition as well as other types of control. Evidence of the strength of the oil group is that Wyoming buyers, even in cities where gasoline is refined, pay considerably more for gasoline than do residents of neighboring states.

The American Legion is well organized in the state, and a number of laws favorable to the Legion have been passed. Shortly after the war, there was passed what seems at present to be a permanent bonus in the form of a \$2,000 tax exemption. Efforts to repeal or modify this law have been unsuccessful. It is rather interesting that ex-soldiers in greatest need of a bonus, that is those without property, have failed to receive any consideration.

Organized labor has maintained a legislative committee and has secured the passage of many laws favorable to labor.

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The Wyoming Federation of Labor is not merely interested in state legislation but in national legislation as well. In the official report to the convention, mention is made of the fact that "your president made personal contact with our congressional delegation on this matter (Federal Housing Bill) and asked them to support this measure, which they all agreed to do. We have had at all times complete coöperation from our senators and congressman."

An interesting group that has come to the front in legislative influence in recent years is that of the dude ranchmen. One of the laws they were instrumental in having passed, with the aid of hotel men and lawyers, permits easy divorces.

CONCLUSION

Nature has been very kind to Wyoming. Its natural resources are of priceless value. The proper development of these resources so that all residents of the state may benefit is the chief economic problem, and is provoking much thought. Governmental ownership of so much of the land area of the state makes the problem more difficult. Residents feel the national park areas should not be extended unless some method of compensation to the state for loss of taxable lands can be provided. The public lands of the eastern states, it is pointed out, were sold to private interests and now pay taxes to the commonwealths. Consequently the people of Wyoming do not feel their state should furnish national playgrounds without compensation.

With so many possibilities for development, Wyoming needs wise leadership in her government. At present, the political situation in Wyoming is confused. Many of the old political leaders are gone. In the Republican party, the leaders of experience who remain failed in the last campaign to sense the possibility of Republican success. As a result, new leaders, who have not as yet developed that sense of responsibility which comes only with experience, gained control of the party. If the more experienced leaders return to a position of influence in the party, and if the trend against the New Deal grows stronger, the usual preference of Wyo-

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ming voters for Republican policies will no doubt continue. At present the party is in disfavor. The spoils system has been emphasized, promises have not been kept and leadership on fundamental questions of public interest has not been exercised. The Democratic party, however, is not in a position to present a united front to the Republicans. Clash of personal interests and domination by individuals interested only in personal gain cannot be expected to win party success. Regardless of party success, however, Wyoming may be depended on, as in the past, to retain in office, regardless of political affiliation, those individual office holders whose activities have won the state's trust and confidence. Finally, developments in national or international scenes may entirely change the political situation in Wyoming, as in other states.

Chapter V

IDAHO: STATE OF SECTIONAL SCHISMS

By LAWRENCE HENRY CHAMBERLAIN



The Idaho Encyclopedia, written by the Federal Writers' Project, in considering the problems confronting the newly created territory of Idaho in 1863, lists the following: (1) Political corruption, (2) Crime and violence, (3) Inflated speculation in mining, (4) Poor roads, (5) Indian trouble, (6) Dissension between north and south Idaho, and (7) the Mormon controversy. It is surprising how many of these still exist.

Political corruption no longer receives public condonation, and crime and violence have, along with Indian troubles, been relegated largely to the pages of the history book, but, as for the others, the years since 1863 have done little to reduce their importance. Any sincere attempt to picture the current political scene in Idaho cannot ignore the part played by poor roads, north-south dissension, and the fact that nearly one-fourth of the population belongs to the Mormon Church.¹ Other factors likewise have had their influence, so let us take them in what seems to be their natural order.

PHYSICAL CHARACTER

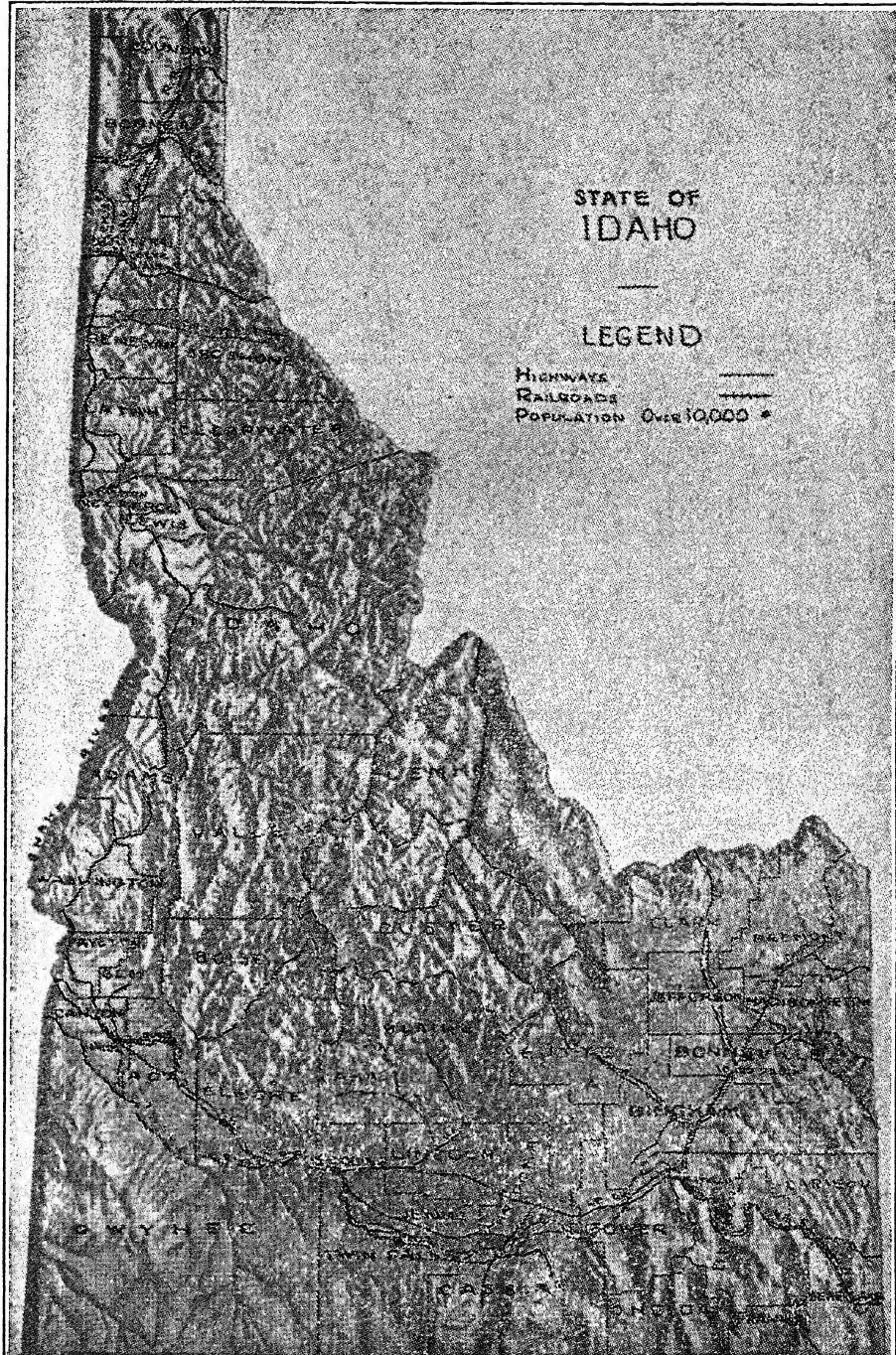
Politics in Idaho cannot be separated from their geographic setting, for much of the explanation of present-day politics lies in the shape, topography, and climate of the

1. Official estimates of the L. D. S. Church place its membership in Idaho for 1939 at 110,000. Idaho's total population for 1938 is 493,000 according to *The Statistical Abstract of the United States: 1938*, published by the United States Department of Commerce, Bureau of Census.

STATE OF
IDAHO

LEGEND

HIGHWAYS
RAILROADS
POPULATION Over 10,000 *



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state less spectacular than the New Mexico, Arizona, or Wyoming of early-day cattle ranching fame, and without the benefit of a Bret Harte to dramatize the heroic era of its early mining activity, Idaho has, nevertheless, gone through all the typical experiences of a frontier state and has perhaps been less affected by the urbanizing influences of the technological age than most other states of the Union. One interesting illustration of this is that Boise, the capital, and largest city in the state, has a total population of less than thirty thousand, while the next largest communities fall well under the twenty thousand mark.²

The state, although large in area, is small in population; San Francisco crowds more people onto its tiny peninsula than the entire state holds. This, coupled with the obstacles to internal unity that result from its physical character, holds the key to much of Idaho politics.

Possessing a total area of 83,888 square miles, the Gem state ranks twelfth in size. This magnitude is perhaps better appreciated when one remembers that the entire area of New England, plus Delaware and Maryland, totals only 82,000 square miles. Other factors tend to magnify the importance of area. Such an area, if composed of contiguous territory, could easily be bounded in such a way that the greatest distance between the furthermost points would be little more than three hundred miles. Because of the combination of politics, geography, and economic advantage, however, Idaho entered upon statehood the victim of one of the most fantastic gerrymanders in history. Ranging from a total width of less than fifty miles along its northern boundary joining Canada, the state broadens out as it extends southward for 480 miles, following roughly the shape of a right triangle with its hypotenuse facing eastward, until its southern boundary provides a base of more than 310 miles for the gigantic triangle. Oregon and Washington are both large states, but their eastern boundaries placed end to end barely equal Idaho's north-south axis. Distance is not

2. *The Idaho Encyclopedia*, Section VII. These figures are based upon official population estimates for 1938.

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the only factor involved; it is the character of the terrain that most vitally influences political considerations. Nearly the entire eastern border, the hypotenuse, is composed of the rugged Bitterroot Mountains. Early-day pioneers had difficulty in negotiating this rocky barrier when they first sought passage through Idaho to the Pacific; subsequent travellers have enjoyed little more success. Neither railroads nor highways have succeeded in penetrating these mountains between the panhandle in the north and the Snake river plateau in the south. This partially accounts for the fact that although four transcontinental railroads cross the state three of them cross within ninety miles of one another in the narrow northern panhandle, and the other, the Union Pacific, enters south of the mountains and traverses in a northwesterly direction, leaving it south of the second range of mountains which stretches along the central part of the western boundary. As a result of mountains, therefore, the state is divided into two, or possibly three, regions, largely cut off from one another, dependent to a certain extent upon different economic interests, and, for the most part, unaware of and uninterested in what the other sections are doing.

One glance at a transportation map of Idaho is sufficient to bring out certain peculiar characteristics that have indelibly influenced its social and political life. The most striking condition noted is the absence of transportation lines running east and west across the state except in the panhandle and in the extreme south, and the equally striking absence of similar lines running north and south. Quite recently, two forest service roads have been literally gouged through this forbidding central region, but they cannot be regarded seriously as avenues of transportation. If one wishes to travel from northern Idaho to the southern part of the state by rail he must either take the circuitous Northern Pacific route east as far as Butte, Montana, and then back into Idaho, or he must follow the equally devious Union Pacific west into Washington and Oregon then back into the state. Highway travel offers but little greater advantage; of recent years spasmodic attempts have been made to com-

plete the north-south highway, a route running virtually from border to border completely within the state. This road, first projected in 1891, was authorized by a comprehensive legislative act in 1893; whether the obstacles blocking its completion have been climatic and topographic, or economic and political, the fact remains that after some forty-five years of endeavor this road has not yet reached the state where it can be safely traveled the year round. The bulk of the highway traffic between north and south is still routed through Washington and Oregon.

Whether these transportation difficulties are cause or effect is difficult to say, but the existence and persistence of a well-defined sectionalism cannot be disputed nor should its importance be discounted. It has existed from the beginning, and there is little evidence that the improvement in communication facilities and generally increased mobility of the people has had any appreciable effect in removing it.

Geographically, Idaho falls naturally into three fairly well-defined sections. The north, comprising the ten northernmost counties, is cut off from the south by the Salmon river and possesses economic interests quite different from any other part of the state. This section contains about 25 per cent of the total area, holds 26 per cent of the population, 30 per cent of the wealth, 21 per cent of the farm land, and 80 per cent of the timber land.³ Here are located the rich silver-lead mines of the Coeur d'Alenes, and the equally important white pine forests constituting the single most important body of that kind of timber in the world. Although mining and lumbering are of major importance, and help to set the tone of political sentiment for part of this territory, they at all times must acknowledge the influence of the grain-growing interests, for it is here that the famous Palouse and Camas prairie grain-producing areas are located. These regions are among the most important grain producers in the country. Presence of sufficient moisture in soil and air precludes the necessity of irrigation, thus identifying these counties more closely with Washing-

3. Defenbach, B., *Idaho*, I, p. 566.

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ton and Oregon than with the arid stretches of south Idaho where irrigation forms an integral part of the economy. Northern Idaho, with scarcely a quarter of the state's population and wealth, has, from territorial days, been looked upon by the inhabitants of the south as alien soil, and in truth there has been some basis for this attitude. The fact that the state university had been secured for the north by aggressive political action even before statehood had been achieved, and has thus far been retained in the face of increasing opposition from the southeast, has not tended toward greater intrastate harmony with the passage of the years.

The second natural section, usually designated as the south, is composed of the sixteen counties which lie below the Salmon river, thus comprising the southwestern portion of the state. Much of this region is composed of national forest lands, although considerable mining is also carried on. Here also are found the chief fruit and dairying interests. Within this region are found 37 per cent of the area, 36 per cent of the population, 36 per cent of the wealth, 31 per cent of the farm land, and 20 per cent of the timberland.⁴ Boise, the state's capital and largest city, is located almost in the center of this region, and, to a certain extent, dominates it although several other energetic communities, such as Nampa, Caldwell, and Twin Falls, challenge its hegemony. Lying between the other two sections, the south is perhaps less distinctive in character than either of them, but it, nonetheless, maintains its own identity and is ever conscious of its peculiar community of interest. Holding, as it does, the balance of power in all matters political, it frequently exerts more influence in state politics than its mere numbers would indicate. It is not surprising, therefore, that many of the leading political figures of the state, Democrats and Republicans alike, come from here.

The last section is represented by the remaining eighteen counties, concentrated in the southeastern corner and generally designated the southeast. Here we find 38 per

4. *Ibid.*

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cent of the area, 39 per cent of the population, 34 per cent of the wealth, 47 per cent of the farm land, and virtually none of the timber land.⁵ Practically all of this land, falling on either side of the Snake river, is fertile but arid. Only with the development of irrigation has this country come into its own; the success of several reclamation projects has resulted in its rapid filling up until today it represents one of the most progressive and dynamic parts of the state. Today Idaho ranks third among the states in total area under irrigation, being led only by California and Colorado, and it is this vast Snake river valley that makes this so, for here are located the great share of Idaho's two and one-half million acres of irrigated land.⁶ The soil and climatic conditions are especially hospitable for the growing of legumes, sugar beets, and potatoes. In climate, rainfall, and topography, it is much more closely akin to Wyoming and Utah than it is to north Idaho, and the effect upon the people is noticeable. These people look to Salt Lake for their needs, be they economic, cultural, or educational, just as people in the north depend upon the eastern Washington metropolis of Spokane. Another factor contributes to this attitude, to what extent it is impossible to say, that is the Latter Day Saints Church. The greater proportion of Idaho's 110,000 Mormons are living here; it is only natural, therefore, that they should look southward rather than west or north for their contacts. The element of distance also makes its importance felt, for within less than one hundred miles in Utah lay great department stores and fine theatres, as well as three well-known universities, while the state university lies hundreds of miles distant to the north. Such a combination of factors renders it easy to understand why the orientation of this area is southward rather than toward the north.

THE PEOPLE

A brief glance at the people of Idaho, in their relation to their physical setting, brings out many facts that help

5. *Ibid.*

6. *Statistical Abstract of the United States*, p. 576.

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to shed light upon their political behavior. Attention has already been drawn to the enormous area; closer examination of the nature of this area reveals illuminating information. Of the 88,000 square miles within the state's border, 79 per cent is publicly owned, 36 per cent being national forests, 21 per cent public domain, and the remaining 22 per cent being divided between state lands, Indian reservations, and other miscellaneous public lands.⁷ When it is recalled that public lands are not subject to taxation, the importance of this distribution is apparent. Furthermore, much of this publicly owned area is composed of rugged mountains and arid stretches of desert, which have little economic value. At least part of the relative backwardness of state highway development is traceable to this difficult combination of limited financial resources and the almost prohibitive cost of highway construction.

The populated area of the state roughly resembles a giant fishhook with the eye in Boundary county and the bend in the hook following the Snake river valley, the point terminating in the southeast near the Wyoming border. Four-fifths of the people live on one-fifth of the land. Because of the extreme ruggedness of much of the state, the different sections vary greatly in density of population. The low density of her population, 5.2 persons to a square mile, as compared with 528 for Massachusetts and 41 for the United States as a whole, is even more striking when broken down upon a county basis, for here we find a range from Canyon county with a density of 52 per square mile and Ada county with 33, to Butte county with less than one per square mile, and several others with less than two persons per square mile.⁸

Of even greater importance than the nature and location of the population, however, may be its rate of change—increase, decrease, mobility, and stability. These factors may easily have greater influence on voting habits than

7. Vogel, H. A., and Johnson, N. W., *Types of Farming in Idaho*, Part I, p. 4, University of Idaho Experiment Station, Bulletin No. 207, May, 1934.

8. Hobson, G. S., ed., *Idaho Digest and Blue Book*, Plate No. 3, Table 3.

anything else. Several very interesting facts present themselves. For example, Idaho's population has increased thirty-fold since 1870, only Washington, in the entire north-western area, having shown a greater rate of increase. Of considerably greater significance is that while her population increased only 3 per cent between 1920 and 1930, it has increased more than 10 per cent since 1930, although there has been a sharp decline in her birth rate in recent years.⁹ This notable increase in population during the past decade has, of course, been due, largely, to the great influx of people from the dust bowl areas of the Middle West. Idaho leads the nation in the number of immigrating families per thousand families in her general population, with a figure of 10.16, as compared with New Mexico, which has the next highest rate with 7.98.¹⁰

The effect of this rapid influx cannot help but be significant politically. Initially reflected in increased relief rolls and a generally higher rate of unemployment, the New Deal may be expected to benefit temporarily. Ultimately, if a measure of prosperity returns, these newcomers should constitute a very welcome addition to the state's population. There is some apprehension among competent observers as to whether Idaho's resources are sufficient to bear any considerable increase in population without lowering the average standard of living for the state as a whole. This is a problem upon which it is impossible to pass judgment, but there seems to be some evidence to support such a pessimistic view.

We have seen that Idaho's population is small and scattered, and that the depression has resulted in considerable immigration. Let us turn now to a more detailed examination of the composition of this population. Many and varied though Idaho's political problems are, they cannot be said to stem from her people because of ethnic reasons. A more homogeneous population would be almost

9. *Ibid.*, p. 281.

10. Webb, J. N., and Brown, Malcolm, *Migrant Families*. p. 152, Research Monograph XVIII, Division of Social Research, Works Progress Administration, Washington, D. C., 1938.

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impossible to find. Out of a total population of 493,000 in 1939, approximately 98 per cent were white, and 91 per cent were native white. Negroes constituted only 0.2 per cent, and Indians, the largest single non-white group, totaled only 0.8 per cent. Orientals, whose influx has been the occasion for apprehension in some of the western states, come to the insignificant figure of 0.4 per cent. Most of the foreign born have availed themselves of their opportunity to gain citizenship; according to the last census figures available the percentage of aliens living within the state was 1.2 per cent.¹¹ Fully 80 per cent of the foreign white stock traces its origins to Great Britain, the Scandinavian peninsula, and Germany. Idaho's race problems are negligible, therefore, and, with a single exception, it may be concluded that the ethnic character of its people has been of no importance in her economic and political life. The influence of the Basques is entirely out of proportion to their numerical strength. Entering the state very early in its development they have multiplied and prospered, and have succeeded in maintaining their identity throughout the years. Coming from Spain in search of greater religious and economic freedom, the great stretches of undeveloped land in southern Idaho seemed ideal for their pastoral and agrarian tendencies. The development of the sheep industry into one of the state's major resources has been inextricably identified with these friendly but somewhat aloof people. Their number (now 7,500) has never been large enough to be of any significance politically, but they constitute at once the most closely knit and able minority group in the state. Boise, with about sixteen hundred, is now the center of the largest Basque colony in the world.

If race is a negligible factor in Idaho politics, does the same hold true for religion? As might be expected from the population composition already discussed, the Protestant churches hold a definite numerical advantage. Less than

11. Although the statistics on foreign origins are taken from the 1930 census they remain substantially the same for 1939 in spite of the considerable immigration from the dust bowl areas during the past decade.

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6 per cent of the population adhere to the Catholic faith.¹² By all odds, the most important religious group is the Church of Jesus Christ of the Latter Day Saints, commonly known as the Mormon Church. Idaho being adjacent to Utah, it is not surprising that not far from one-quarter of its people are members of this church.¹³ Does this unusually large proportion have any significance politically? Apparently very little. The Mormon Church may at one time have wielded considerable influence in Idaho politics, and may, in occasional instances, be of some importance in local elections today, but to attribute to it more significance than this would not be in harmony with the facts as they exist. In 1885, non-Mormon indignation at the custom of plural marriages sanctioned under certain conditions by the church resulted in the passage of the Test Oath Act which, in effect, disfranchised and barred from public office all members of the Mormon Church. After the famous "Manifesto" was issued by the Church, in 1890, officially declaring the termination of plural marriages, this disfranchisement act was repealed and Mormons henceforth shared political privileges equally with other citizens. There continued to be spasmodic attempts to make political capital of Mormonism for several years, but they have availed little. In the legislative campaign of 1905, Dubois, the Democratic candidate for the United States Senate, in his campaign against Borah, alleged that the chief and only issue was Mormonism, but the overwhelming vote cast for Borah was ample evidence that the majority of the voters and the legislators did not take his statement seriously.

In more recent years, the election returns give numerous indications that votes are cast along lines other than religion. For example, in 1934, D. Worth Clark, the Democratic candidate in the southern Idaho district, where the Mormons constitute roughly half the population, was a Roman Catholic, and was opposed on the Republican ticket

12. *Religious Bodies*, I, p. 166, United States Department of Commerce, Bureau of Census, 1926.

13. *Ibid.*, p. 164.

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by Heber Q. Hale, a very prominent member of the L. D. S. Church. Clark received a plurality of 20,000 votes out of approximately 95,000 votes cast, indicating that he must have received considerable Mormon vote; this is quite typical of many other contests that have been held during the last thirty years.

In one respect, the L. D. S. Church does influence Idaho politics. On questions of social legislation, where the teachings of the Church are vitally concerned, the reflection of this in the vote can be detected. For example, in 1934, where the voters were asked to record their views on the abolition of prohibition, the results are highly interesting. Although repeal was achieved with a majority of 30,000 out of a total vote of 140,000, many Mormon counties in southeastern Idaho either defeated the amendment or passed it by a very narrow margin, in sharp contrast to the non-Mormon counties, where it generally drew comfortable majorities.¹⁴

PRESS AND PUBLIC OPINION

Each of the three sections already noted in Idaho has a daily newspaper which might be said to reflect, if not formulate, the consensus of opinion for that section. The Lewiston *Tribune*, in northern Idaho, is one of the pioneer papers of the state. Founded in 1892 as a Democratic organ, it has faithfully maintained its point of view through years of success and adversity. The *Tribune*, although pledged to the principles of the Democratic party, has not hesitated to speak out sharply in criticism of policies or practices which the party chose to espouse, nor has it refrained from throwing its whole-hearted support behind Republicans when it considered them worthy. The *Tribune* has consistently maintained an editorial policy characterized by moderation and thoughtfulness, never lacking in courage, but not inclined toward outspokenness to the point of ill humor. Not a crusading type of journalism, certainly, but one willing to express an opinion upon any issue that affected the public or community

14. *Abstract of General Election Returns*, Twenty-second Biennial Report of the Secretary of State, 1934.

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interest. Unfortunately its sphere of influence is all too narrow. It has to compete for circulation with the metropolitan dailies from Spokane and Portland which, because of transportation peculiarities, are actually more accessible to the great majority of Idaho homes. The quality of its reporting, the comprehensiveness of its coverage, and the moderate tone of its editorial policy deserve a much broader circle of readers than it receives.

In the southern section the *Idaho Statesman* easily stands out from all other newspapers. Like the *Tribune* it is a pioneer, having virtually grown up with the state. Unlike the *Tribune* it is strongly, almost outspokenly, Republican. The *Statesman* is proud of its Republicanism, and it would not be an exaggeration to say that it takes great pleasure in flouting its partisanship before the disgruntled opposition. During the territorial period, the *Statesman* identified itself with the regular Republican organization and the kinship has been a lasting one. When the silver issue split the Republican party in Idaho in 1896, and Senator Dubois and William E. Borah bolted the party, the *Statesman* remained steadfast in the face of much high feeling and bitter attack. Similarly, in 1912, it was not impressed by Theodore Roosevelt's case for Progressivism and unhesitatingly threw its support vigorously behind Taft.

Because it is located in the state capital, the *Statesman* assumes added importance as the accepted chronicler of governmental news, which it covers in creditable fashion. Whether one is always in agreement with its editorial policy or not, it is generally agreed that its news coverage is excellent. Without doubt it is the most influential paper in the state. Few cities of 100,000 population can boast a more completely metropolitan paper; for a town of less than 30,000 it is truly outstanding.

The influence which the *Statesman* wields throughout the state in matters political is difficult to assess. Its avowed Republican sympathies are too well known by most of its readers to permit its position to be entirely above suspicion. This is partially illustrated by the fact that the state govern-

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ment has been Democratic for the past eight years in spite of the *Statesman's* consistent opposition. Much of Idaho politics is sectional politics with the north-southeast schism underlying many of the issues. With respect to this controversy the *Statesman* has chosen generally to assume the middle ground of neutrality with perhaps a slight tendency toward northern sympathies. Holding, as it does, the balance of power, it recognizes its strategic position and has not hesitated on occasion to strike a blow with an eye to the advantages to be gained for its own section.

The Pocatello *Tribune* is the leading paper in southeastern Idaho. Going out to the vast irrigated area to the north and west, it is the official organ for the potato, sugar beet, and alfalfa interests, to mention but a few of the most articulate. Strongly conscious of its sectional interests, it devotes much of its energies toward securing a larger share of the state's good things for its constituents. The *Tribune* has been one of the most persistent advocates of southern expansion. It has led the fight for a four-year school for Pocatello, and its position on all state issues is partially colored by this objective. Its influence is strictly sectional, its circle of readers being largely confined to a radius of not more than 100 miles in any direction and in many cases much less than that.

Any discussion of newspapers and their influence in formulating public opinion in Idaho would be woefully incomplete if it failed to consider two other important papers, neither of which is published within the state. In some respects it is not an over-statement to say that the *Spokesman Review* published in Spokane, Washington, and the Salt Lake (Utah) *Tribune* are the two most influential papers in Idaho. Virtually every community in north Idaho lies within a hundred-mile radius of Spokane. As a consequence, the *Spokesman* is delivered by carrier in most north Idaho towns and is read at the breakfast table of thousands of homes throughout the panhandle. The *Spokesman* is strongly Republican, anti-New Deal, and generally conservative in point of view. Although it naturally takes

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little part in strictly Idaho politics, there can be no doubt of its influence in national and northwestern politics. Besides providing full Associated Press services for national and foreign news, it daily devotes from two to three pages to the Inland Empire of which north Idaho is an integral part. An afternoon paper, the Spokane *Chronicle*, published by the same company but operated competitively, also has wide circulation throughout this area.

What the *Spokesman Review* does for north Idaho the Salt Lake *Tribune* does for southeastern Idaho. Geographically, economically, culturally, and climatically, southeastern Idaho has more in common with Utah than with any other part of Idaho. The Salt Lake *Tribune* has not failed to realize the importance of this. A glance at any issue is sufficient to remove all doubt, for the *Tribune* looks upon these people not as aliens from another commonwealth but as part of her great family, bound by ties much stronger than those of political geography. An imaginary political boundary line may emphasize the fact of legal separation, but it takes more than such a line to shatter the underlying sense of unity that prevails. The *Tribune* maintains an office in Pocatello and operates a teletype service between the two places. In a very real sense Pocatello and its surrounding territory has more than a mere spiritual bond with Utah.

What characteristics can be noted regarding public opinion in Idaho? The visitor or newcomer is frequently puzzled by what he finds here. If he has come from the Pacific Coast, the East, or the Middle West, he is immediately impressed by the lack of concern shown by intelligent people on the subjects that are burning issues where he came from. His bewilderment is not lessened when he further discovers that the average Idahoan, like most westerners, is surprisingly well informed as to what is going on in other parts of the country.

The explanation is not readily forthcoming, but certain opinions may be ventured. In the first place, at no time have Idaho and its people been nearer than the outer fringes of the main stream of American life. The geography, lines

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of communication, sparsity of population, and occupational interests have all contributed their share to this state of quasi-isolation. Originally settled by a backwash of the first waves of gold seekers which had previously passed through on their rush to the Pacific Coast, the state has always been on the edge of the stream but never quite in it. Predominantly agricultural and overwhelmingly rural, it simply has not felt the full effect of the increased tensions that have accompanied industrialization and urbanization. A good illustration of this is that, although the country as a whole began to feel the effects of the depression in 1930, it was not until 1932 and 1933 that its impact was really felt in Idaho; and it may be safely said that at no time have economic conditions within the state attained the degree of severity that they did in states to the east and to the west.

Labor troubles have remained at a minimum. There may be states that have experienced less labor difficulties, but they would be hard to find. Throughout the last ten years only two strikes of even fair proportions have occurred. One of these was occasioned by the abortive attempt of the I. W. W. to revive their old-time organization among the timber workers in 1935; the other resulted from the equally futile attempt of the C. I. O. to organize the miners in the Coeur d'Alenes. Public opinion in both cases was unsympathetic to labor, this playing no small part in the failure of the ventures. Agrarian Idaho is inclined to regard labor organizers with suspicion if not actual hostility. Not more than three communities in the state, representing considerably less than 8 per cent of the total population, could be regarded as pro-labor by the most optimistic estimate. It is little wonder, therefore, that Idahoans are not as acutely concerned with controversies revolving around the labor problem as their neighbors on the Pacific Coast. The same thing may be said respecting unemployment, housing, and other economic and social issues that have plagued such a large portion of the nation. Of course the state has not escaped unemployment. Relief rolls have mounted here as they have elsewhere, but, by comparison, Idaho has not

suffered. One invariably reads of more misery in his morning paper than he could find in his own community. Farm relief has vitally affected many people as has agricultural credit and debtor relief. Outside of this particular field, however, it must be concluded that Idaho has been hit only a glancing blow by the depression. Another writer has stated it very aptly when he remarked, "The intellectual and social climate of Idaho conforms to the inland weather —dry and placid, rather than vehement."¹⁵

EDUCATION

Idaho is facing its educational responsibilities courageously. Being a typical frontier state has both simplified and complicated the educational problem. The high type of people that make up the major element in the population provide a promising foundation on which to build a sound program. Less than 10 per cent of the population is foreign born, the great proportion of these coming from the northern European countries. Coupled with this, the very low proportion of illiteracy, 1.1 per cent, as compared with a Rocky Mountain ratio of 4.2 per cent,¹⁶ and the extremely small degree of acute poverty combine to produce conditions favorable to high educational attainments.

Other elements, less favorable, tend to complicate the problem. The enormous area of the state creates problems of time and space that are of especial significance to education. Because of an odd combination of geography and history, one of Idaho's greatest educational headaches has been the problem of the small school, its defects, and how to overcome them. With a total population of roughly 493,000, Idaho has 1,295 schools, of which no less than 638 are one-teacher schools. An additional 226 employ only two teachers and 57 more, only three, making a total of 911, or more than 70 per cent of Idaho's schools, that employ three teachers or less.¹⁷ This becomes a very serious matter finan-

15. *Idaho Encyclopedia*, p. 204.

16. *Statistical Abstract of the United States*, 1938, p. 43.

17. *Thirteenth Biennial Report of the State Board of Education*, 1937-1938, p. 38.

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cially since the cost of operating small schools is so much greater proportionately than that of operating large ones. The State Department of Education has estimated that the cost of running a one-room school is \$13.09 per month per pupil, as compared with a cost of \$11.35 for a two-room school, \$9.91 for a three-room school, and \$6.61 for a school of nine or more rooms.¹⁸ When the relative quality of instruction, equipment, and management is also taken into consideration, the contrast becomes even greater.

If these figures may be accepted as accurate, then at least part of the educational problem is that of effecting consolidations calculated to greatly reduce the number of tiny, poverty-stricken country schools. Other factors tend to blur the picture, however, and the key to their solution is by no means clear. According to recent reliable estimates, Idaho ranks high among the states in per capita taxable wealth. As against a national per capita figure of \$1,947 and \$2,151 for the Mountain states as a group, Idaho's per capita taxable wealth in 1931 was \$2,711.¹⁹ Standing fifth in the entire nation, the Gem state was outranked only by such wealthy states as New Jersey, California, Illinois, and New York. Examined upon this background, the figures of per capita costs and teacher salaries appear to defy understanding. For 1935-1936 the per capita cost for current expenses per pupil in average daily attendance in school was \$73.79 for Idaho, as compared with an average of \$97.49 in the Rocky Mountain states surrounding her. This is partly explained by comparative figures for teacher salaries. The median elementary salary in Idaho for 1936 was \$874.50, the high school median, \$1,248.33, and the average for both \$943 as against a Rocky Mountain division average of \$1,143.²⁰

These figures would seem to tell the story that Idaho's people have emphasized economy in educational matters, and

18. Quoted in *Idaho Digest and Blue Book*, p. 238.

19. *Preliminary Report of a Subcommittee of the Committee on Ways and Means Double Taxation*, p. 294, United States Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C., 1933.

20. *Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1938*, p. 111.

the teachers have borne the burden. Such a conclusion is partly true, but it is also misleading. The key again lies in the combination of population, geography, and local pride sometimes amounting to outright stubbornness, that prefers autonomous poverty to coöperative plenty. Great contrasts in wealth are to be found among the various school districts. Many districts have ample wealth to support a more than adequate educational program but others are much less fortunately situated, and it is usually these districts that pull the average down. Some counties possess a high enough assessed valuation that a levy of as low as 2.2 mills is sufficient to support the state minimum school program, while others are obliged to levy as much as 9.8 mills in order to secure sufficient income to carry on the same minimum program.²¹ In 1933, educational leaders succeeded in securing the passage of the "Equalization Law," whereby state financial aid was made available for all districts in proportion to their needs. This was a great stride in the right direction and has materially lightened the financial burden on some of the poorer districts, but the fundamental problem of uneconomical atomistic administration persists. For the most part it is these small poverty-stricken districts that pay the starvation wages to teachers because the salary scale for Idaho as a whole, while low, is not as badly out of line as figures would seem to indicate. To an outsider the situation is, of course, ridiculous and the solution obvious: eliminate most of these small schools by consolidation; but to anyone familiar with local conditions and community prides and prejudices there exists a yawning chasm between ideal and actuality. Sheer economic necessity has indeed forced a few temporary consolidations during the depths of the depression years, but the people involved, in consenting to such losses of identity, served notice at the time that the arrangement was to be regarded as temporary only. As long as the ultimate control of the state's educational program continues to rest wholly in the hands of the tiny local dis-

21. *Equalization: a Goal*, p. 8, Idaho State Department of Education, Boise, Idaho, 1936.

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tricts, whose very existence no longer has any social or economic justification, it is useless to talk of any really constructive improvement. And yet, with all this cause for discouragement, there is much that calls for praise. High schools have multiplied rapidly and they are sufficiently well scattered so that no pupil finishing the eighth grade need experience difficulty in attending high school. The ratio of high school population to total population increased five fold between 1910 and 1930, and there is no indication that it has lost momentum.

Idaho's higher education problem is unique. In many respects it involves not only problems of education but also of politics, economics, and even religion. When Idaho became a state, the state university, as a result of political horse trading, was located at Moscow in the northern panhandle. At a consequence, it has never ceased to be a pawn of politics, its fate often depending upon the varying fortunes of its political supporters and opponents at the biennial sessions of the state legislature. Located at some distance from the center of population, cut off from easy access by the absence of adequate transportation facilities, and regarded with suspicion, if not open dislike, by influential individuals, the university has had much difficulty in either serving its people or preserving its own existence. When to the foregoing are added the proximity of good schools in Utah, plus the natural community of interest resulting from the influence of the L. D. S. Church, it can readily be seen how difficult the problem of the state university has been. Three major universities in Utah, offering practically everything in the way of university training, lie within four or five hours of most of southeastern Idaho, whereas the University of Moscow is twenty to thirty-five hours distant by train and not a great deal less by car.

For many years, attempts have been made to secure another four-year school for the state. The University of Idaho Southern Branch, at Pocatello, offers only two years of college work. Sentiment has been growing among at least part of the people from this section that the "Branch"

should be expanded into a four-year school, and no effort or expense has been spared to achieve this end. Northern Idaho has been equally determined to prevent any such development; thus the battle lines are drawn. South Idaho, holding the balance of power, has chosen so far to throw its support to the north Idaho bloc, but there has been no evidence of discouragement from the advocates of the four-year school. This sectional strife, recurrent in malignant form every two years when the legislature convenes, is never absent, and has cast its baleful influence over intrastate relationships in practically every field. It is particularly unfortunate for higher education and annually takes its toll in lowered morale springing from uncertainty for the future. That there are weighty arguments on both sides of the controversy it cannot be denied. Neither can it be doubted that settlement will eventually be determined on the basis of pressure politics, rather than on any genuine rationalization of the educational problems foisted upon the people by the cruel tricks of geography and territorial politics. The present university has made splendid progress and has established a reputation for high standards of scholarship, but until such settlement is finally made one cannot look forward to any great degree of progress in the permanent solution of Idaho's higher educational problems.

ECONOMIC INTERESTS AND PRESSURE GROUPS

It is inevitable that agriculture should be regarded as Idaho's chief industry. Fully 45 per cent of the male workers of the state were classified as engaged in some form of agricultural pursuit in 1930.²² Doubtless that figure would be nearer 50 per cent today. More than 50 per cent of the taxable property traces its source to the farm. Much less than half of the people live in incorporated towns, and scarcely 20 per cent live in towns of ten thousand or more. The importance of this cannot be ignored, but neither should it be given undue weight. It is true that, inasmuch as the livelihood of many families is closely bound up with the vary-

22. *Occupations*, IV, p. 405, Bureau of Census.

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ing fortunes of wheat, potatoes, beans, hay, cattle, sheep, and sugar beets, political attitudes are inevitably influenced by the needs of these crops, with the result that, to a certain extent, Idaho politics are agrarian politics. In recent years, the Grange has come to be regarded as one of the most potent forces in state politics. Statistics show about two hundred local granges and a total membership of roughly twelve thousand but do not begin to indicate the true influence which the Grange wields. Labor legislation, tax legislation, and general produce and commodity legislation bear the unmistakable imprint of a powerful ally representing the interests of the farmer. The state Grange is well organized and ably led; it loses no time in making its position known on any issues affecting it. Both parties make serious bids for its support, neither willingly chooses to align itself upon the opposite side where any real issue is involved.

It would be telling less than the truth to stop at this, however. Other forces have from the beginning played their part in the political drama, in some cases even overshadowing agriculture, making up in intensity what they have lacked in numbers.

The lumber industry most certainly deserves high rank among these. Some well-informed observers express the opinion that the timber lobby tops all others in sustained effectiveness. Whatever may be the accuracy of this opinion, there can be no doubt of its power. Throughout the last ten depression years the timber industry alone has successfully resisted special tax legislation calculated to supplement, in a measure, the steadily declining revenues yielded by the conventional taxes of former years. Although the powerful mining industry, for all its resistance, succumbed in 1935 to a 3 per cent mine license tax, involving an annual yield of nearly one million dollars, the timber interests were able to escape a similar tax. At the same time (1933) the passage of legislation reducing from 6 per cent to 4 per cent the interest charges on timber land purchased from the state by deferred payments was merely additional evidence as to the relative impregnability of this industry.

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Among the railroads, particularly, lies much unwritten but important political history. Four transcontinental railroads cross the state but they by no means play equal roles in the Idaho political drama. The justly famous Union Pacific, traversing, as it does, some four hundred miles of the state's richest irrigation land, could not avoid playing an active part in its politics. This road does 70 per cent of the gross railroad business in the state. It maintains plants at both Nampa and Pocatello, the latter being its largest plant west of Omaha and carrying a monthly payroll of \$423,000.²³ For many years, the office of the general agent of the Union Pacific in Boise, the state capital, has been the center of carefully planned and skillfully executed public relations activity. It has been closely linked with all legislation even remotely calculated to affect the transportation industry.

Public utility politics are not unknown here. Three large companies and many smaller ones operate within the state. In numerous local matters the power lobby has been influential and, generally speaking, it has been successful on a statewide basis, also. It is not invincible, however, and there is some reason to believe that its power is waning. All the opposition it could muster was not enough to block the passage of the Kilowatt Hour Tax Law in 1931. This law, levying a tax of one-half mill on every kilowatt hour of electrical energy generated within the state, annually yields in the neighborhood of one-third of a million dollars in revenue. The unsuccessful battle waged against this law, first in the legislature and later in the courts, is sufficient testimony to the presence of, but also to the vulnerability of, utility interests. The relative proximity of Grand Coulee and Bonneville has stimulated considerable interest in the possibilities of public power. Propaganda and counter-propaganda on the power issue have also helped to whip up greater public interest. Several communities have already showed signs of an awakened interest in their local power problems. The future is not clear; suffice it to say that private utilities here, as else-

23. *Idaho Encyclopedia*, p. 141.

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where, are confronted with a more difficult task than has been so heretofore.

Agriculture, timber, railroad, public utilities: these are the dynamic forces that have to be reckoned with by anyone who would desire to succeed in Idaho politics. Throughout the years, however, it is impossible to escape from the conviction that the single most important non-agricultural economic interest has been silver. Dating from the discovery of silver in the Coeur d'Alenes in 1883, the white metal has cast its shadow upon all things political in a degree entirely out of proportion to its actual importance to the state as a whole. Like many economic interests, silver is non-partisan in its politics. It split the Republican party in 1896, thus leading to its defeat, and from that time on both parties have deemed it prudent to ally themselves with rather than against its interests. Even Senator Borah, who, at various times, has not hesitated to follow a line of action at variance with the party or the popular point of view, has not, so far as can be ascertained, seen fit to defy the demands of the silver bloc. Candidates for political office in Idaho have locked horns on well-nigh every conceivable issue over which politicians ever debated; they have ranged the entire scale from woman suffrage and the income tax, to labor legislation and relief of the poor, but when it comes to silver they have usually chosen to make overtures rather than to antagonize.

Of what importance politically is labor in Idaho? The answer apparently is: very little. When one remembers that roughly half of the male workers are engaged in agriculture, and that less than 25 per cent are engaged in the three industries of lumbering, mining, and manufacturing, it does not seem strange that the political role of labor is relatively unimportant. But it has not always been thus. The growth of the labor movement in Idaho has not measured up to the standard one would naturally expect after becoming familiar with the state's industrial vicissitudes during its formative years. Some of the most colorful drama woven into early Idaho history is that which deals with the turbulent labor struggles centered around the Coeur d'Alene mines at

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the turn of the century. Discovery of almost fabulously rich deposits of silver and lead in the 80's led to the rapid development of what has turned out to be the most important silver producing area in the country. Large scale operations demanded workmen in large numbers and the community grew rapidly. Almost immediately, labor troubles became bothersome and finally culminated in the riots of 1892. The controversy was over union recognition rather than pay. The Western Federation of Miners, a militant organization, was making rapid headway throughout the mining communities of the West and it descended in full force in Idaho. The Coeur d'Alene miners, immediately accepting the idea of organization, became the second group in the United States to form a union. Meeting little success in their demands for union recognition, the miners struck; violence resulted, several persons were killed, and much property was destroyed. State troops were finally called out and peace was restored although much ill-feeling continued to exist. Conditions smoldered until 1899 when strikes broke out again, the controversy still being union recognition rather than wages or working conditions. Feeling rose to fever pitch, being climaxed by the dynamiting of the Bunker Hill and Sullivan plant in April, 1899. Governor Steunenberg called for federal troops to restore order; several hundred striking miners were arrested and confined for a time in a great stockade called the Bull Pen. They were finally permitted to go back to work but only after repudiating their union. William E. Borah, appointed as a special prosecutor, gained much favorable publicity in his successful prosecution and conviction of Paul Corcoran, one of the leaders of the dynamiting crew. It is of interest to note that Borah has always been regarded as a friend of the working man and the fact that he secured the conviction of Corcoran did not lessen his popularity among organized labor.

Although 1899 saw the end of outright labor violence in the Coeur d'Alenes for nearly thirty years, it resulted in a tragic aftermath, the effects of which may still be detected. Frank Steunenberg, the man who, as governor, had called

out federal troops to quell the rioting in 1899, was assassinated by a dynamite bomb on December 30, 1905. It was clearly the deed of disgruntled labor leaders and an attempt was made to convict Big Bill Haywood as being the man behind the plot. Once again William Borah gained the lime-light, leading the case for the state against Clarence Darrow, who had been secured to defend Haywood. Contrary to popular legend, the case had no bearing upon Borah's election to the United States Senate because his election was assured when the state legislature was chosen in November, 1906, whereas the trial of Haywood did not take place until May, 1907. It would be pleasant to record that Borah successfully secured Haywood's conviction but such is not the case, for he was acquitted, although Harry Orchard, the murderer, was sentenced to death but later secured commutation to life imprisonment.

Not until 1919 did labor strife again break out. For a brief time during that year I. W. W. activity led to considerable unrest, particularly among the lumber camps of north Idaho. Again martial law was declared and large numbers of disaffected workers were temporarily imprisoned as a peace measure. The flare up was short lived and by 1920 scarcely a trace of labor unrest was discernible.

The next fifteen years held little labor significance, nor has the heightened labor activity since 1933 more than brushed Idaho in passing. A brief but volatile strike among the pea pickers in Teton county in 1935 necessitated temporary declaration of martial law. The following year witnessed a strike among timber workers in Clearwater county. Some attempt was made to revive the old I. W. W. and, for a short time, violence seemed imminent. Little more than the appearance of the National Guard was necessary to break the spirit of belligerence; the agitators disappeared and the workers returned to their jobs. One final episode marked the end of labor unrest. C. I. O. organizers made a spirited but unsuccessful attempt to organize the mine workers in the Coeur d'Alenes in 1937. The hostility with which they were received, not only by the employers but also by the towns-

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people and many of the miners themselves, indicated quite clearly that the climate was not favorable to the vigorous C. I. O. philosophy.

Something of the actual magnitude of labor organization can be grasped by a glance at the figures of union membership. In 1937, the Idaho State Federation of Labor was composed of two hundred locals with a total membership of 15,000.²⁴ Pocatello, the most important industrial city in the state, naturally leads all others in the number of unions and union members. Four other cities, Boise, Nampa, Idaho Falls, and Lewiston, also have labor organizations of some strength. Only two, Pocatello and Nampa, can truthfully be said to be influenced by labor.

As a continuing influence in politics, labor has no sustained power. Idaho people as a whole are not labor conscious; the events of recent years, that in many places have forced people to align themselves vigorously on one side or the other of the labor controversy, have not come quite close enough home to provoke the same response here. Relatively speaking, Idaho has remained in a temperate zone, remotely aware of, but not vitally affected by, the strife occurring both to the east and to the west, and has, therefore, found it unnecessary to take more than a detached interest in the struggle in which so much of the country finds itself enmeshed. The predominant sentiment in Idaho is probably anti-labor but not rabidly so. The generally enlightened labor policy of most employers, coupled with the comparatively small degree of industrialization, has permitted Idaho to remain, perhaps, less plagued by labor troubles than any other state in the Union. One may contemplate with interest how long this era can last. With the completion of Bonneville and Grand Coulee, and the resultant abundance of cheap power, the possibilities of rapid industrial development are almost boundless. What effect this would have upon labor provides food for speculation.

There is some tendency among students of politics in the larger, more wealthy states to regard the states in the

24. *Ibid.*, p. 154.

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more remote areas as unimportant and to assume, therefore, that what they do in dealing with their political and administrative problems possesses no significance from other than a purely local viewpoint. Whatever validity, if any, there may be in this view, from the standpoint of pure political science, it is not held by the various economic interests that have come to be objectified under the descriptive title of pressure groups. Idaho ranks forty-third in population, having less than half a million inhabitants, and is outranked by forty states in wealth, yet to the ever practical mind of the business man what goes on here is not shrugged off as insignificant. How true this is is well illustrated by a recent incident. At a recent session of the legislature, a bill was introduced prohibiting the use of radios in automobiles within the state. Whether the motive of the author of the bill was serious or frivolous, scarcely forty-eight hours had elapsed before every important radio manufacturer in the country had rushed a representative to the state capital to discover ways and means of securing the bill's defeat. All business recognizes that any agency that has the power of regulation to the point of prohibition can do much in the way of good or evil and the effects are not confined to those who live within its borders. So it is that within Idaho are found practically all the pressure groups that one encounters everywhere. Here will be found the usual representatives of the railroads, the public utilities, the mining interests, the lumbering interests, the sheepmen, and the cattlemen. Among the other organized groups, which have exerted considerable influence politically, high rank must be given to the State Bar Association, the State Chamber of Commerce, and the Idaho Education Association.

Perhaps the most interesting and important pressure groups, from the standpoint of their actual significance in the state as a whole, are the two groups engaged in mortal combat in the field of higher education. One, with its base of operations in Pocatello, is bending every energy to achieve a four-year university for that city and the other, with headquarters at Moscow, the seat of the present state univer-

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sity, is equally determined that no such concession shall be gained. The methods employed by both groups range from campaigns of education throughout their respective communities, and active support of the proper candidates in the election campaigns, to the more direct forms of lobbying before legislative committees and individual members. The influences in this controversy are really much more sweeping than the relatively narrow scope of the issue itself would indicate, for many other bills of considerably wider interest to the state as a whole are decided by vote-trading in terms of the issue. Truly this issue is the lowest common denominator of all the others.

THIRD PARTY TENDENCIES

We have seen that certain economic forces have been instrumental in shaping political tendencies. Populism during the early nineties was largely stimulated by the economic interests of two groups, the farmers and the miners. This raises for consideration the question of third party movements and their influence. In Idaho, politics is filled with contradictions in this respect, presenting something of a paradox to the observer who attempts to detect patterns or formulate conclusions. The record is one of inherent conservatism and consistency frequently marred by numerous outcroppings of radicalism. Explanation for these tendencies is not readily forthcoming, but certain factors, both historical and economic, shed some light.

Territorial Idaho drew the major portion of its population from people seeking wealth from its mineral resources. The discovery of gold in the Clearwater district, followed by even more promising discoveries in the famous Boise Basin during the decade 1860-1870, drew large numbers of people to this area. Although the early settlers came from many parts of the country, the Southern states furnished more than their share. Many of these people had come west to escape the Civil War; some of them had lost their property to the Union army and sought to reestablish their fortunes in this new country; others had merely foreseen the futility

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of the Confederate cause, but, whatever the reason, Idaho became a sort of Southern annex during the first years of its territorial existence. The Southerners brought their political beliefs with them, with the result that Idaho became predominantly Democratic.

As mining gave way to agriculture, however, more and more of the new settlers came from the East and the Middle West, and the Republican party rapidly rose to a commanding position, a condition that has persisted although the record has been not wholly without blemish. Every congressman, and with a single two-year exception, 1918-1920, every senator between 1890 and 1932 has been Republican. The record has not been as constant in the presidential votes nor in the gubernatorial contests, but even in these cases the winner has been the Democratic party rather than some third group. In fact, only in the elections of 1896, 1898, and 1900, has any party other than the two major ones elected a candidate in a state-wide election; and then the winning candidates were nominated upon a fusion ticket composed of Populists, Democrats, and Silver-Republicans.²⁵

What does this signify as to the importance of third party movements? Probably not nearly as much as the actual statistics appear to indicate. Third parties are generally more concerned with policies than with personnel; that is, they are organized chiefly for the purpose of attaining some change in governmental policy rather than to put men into public office. In this sense they are more closely akin to ordinary pressure groups than to either of the two major parties. Frequently they achieve their ends without winning offices, because after they have completed their educational program, and their platform has gained general public approval, either or both of the major parties will incorporate it into their own program. This has been repeatedly true in Idaho, for many of the so-called progressive reforms have been adopted here well in advance of their acceptance throughout the country as a whole. For example,

25. The most usable election statistics in Idaho for the years 1890-1934 are to be found in the tables appearing in the *Idaho Digest and Blue Book*, pp. 80-137.

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woman suffrage was adopted here in 1896, Idaho being the fourth state to grant the franchise to women. A direct primary law was passed in 1909, followed by the initiative, referendum, and recall in 1911. The Prohibition party secured statewide prohibition in 1915. Other progressive legislation which owed much of its initial impetus to various third party groups included unification of all educational activity in the act creating the State Board of Education in 1913, the Workmen's Compensation Act in 1917, and the State Administrative Consolidation Act in 1919.

As to individual third parties that one might single out for consideration, several deserve mention. Arranged chronologically, the following may be listed as important: the Populist in 1892, 1894, and 1896; the Progressive in 1912, 1922, and 1924; and the Non-Partisan in 1918. The Townsend movement has been active, and although it has not put a ticket into the field, it has received the endorsement of the candidates of both parties in most cases. Even Senator Borah, in his campaign for reëlection in 1936, publicly approved the Townsend plan in principle, thus indicating his respect for its political potency. Some observers have attributed the failure of the candidacy of the Republican senatorial nominee in 1938 to his refusal to make overtures to the Townsend vote.

POLITICAL LEADERS

To the person familiar with Idaho history, many names are indelibly associated with its colorful, though relatively brief, past. Most of these names are of local importance only, but that does not detract from the influence which they have exerted. To one well-versed in the annals of this period the names of Brady, Hawley, McConnell, Sweet, and Dubois are charged with meaning. Without exception, they are the names of Republicans who held high office, although Dubois transferred to the Democratic party in 1898 and, as a consequence, was quickly retired from public life.

For the person living outside the state, Idaho politics means only one name: Senator William E. Borah. First

elected to the Senate in 1907, he has served continuously since. His position in Idaho politics is as unique as his sphere in national affairs. It may almost be said that Senator Borah is from Idaho but not of Idaho. From his first campaign for a seat in the Senate in 1902—incidentally the first and last campaign in which he was the unsuccessful candidate—to the present moment Borah has been a political enigma. The voters in Idaho honor him, trust him, and are very proud of him, but few of them understand him. His record throughout his thirty-odd years of service is filled with contradictions that defy explanation, but the average voter is confident that the shaggy-maned senator has justifiable motives for his political conduct. One thing is clear: Borah does not now, and has not for many years found it necessary to pursue the normal course of politics in order to insure his reëlection every six years. He has more frequently than not refused to make overtures to the Republican organization within the state, and in several cases he has not even seen fit to coöperate throughout the course of the campaign. At other times, he has taken a very active part in a campaign, usually working for the election of some colleague rather than pressing his own candidacy. Nor has the senator found it necessary to build up a personal patronage machine in the state. Naturally he has frequently helped personal friends to obtain much-sought-after jobs, but it is probably true that no person in the Senate today has taken a less active part in the great game of distributing political jobs than the senior senator from Idaho. His course defies all understanding; all axioms of practical politics are put at nought; politicians may come and go, the fortunes of the Republican party may rise and fall, but Borah, the inscrutable, goes on forever. How very far from exaggeration this statement is is well illustrated by recent events.

In 1932, the Democratic landslide crumbled the Republican dynasty to its very foundations. The two Idaho congressmen, Burton L. French and Addison T. Smith, had established political records that compared favorably with that of Borah. French, with twenty-six years of service, and

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Smith with twenty were apparently as solidly entrenched in the House as was their colleague in the Senate. The Democratic upheavals in state and national politics from 1912 to 1918 had left them unscathed; from all indications they were immune to disaster and only death or their voluntary retirement could render their seats vacant; but a rude awakening was in store. When the election returns were in after the 1932 balloting, the political careers of French and Smith had come to an abrupt end. It was unbelievable but true, and the race had not even been close. Borah's term of office did not expire until 1936, but political observers could not help but wonder what would happen to him if the New Deal were still in full strength at that time.

In the meantime, another of Idaho's most colorful personalities in recent years was successfully engaged in carving for himself a niche in the political annals of the state. C. Ben Ross, a man of the people, and a master of the art of personalizing politics, had proved his vote-getting power in 1930 by carrying the state for governor, the lone Democrat to be elected to a major state office in that year. He had repeated his triumph in 1932, and again in 1934, this time in splendid disregard of a well-established tradition that no governor should serve more than two terms.

With six years of successful service as governor behind him, and with the New Deal at high tide, the stage was set for the crucial test of Borah's popularity with his constituents. The tale can be told briefly. Borah had spent very little time in Idaho during the preceding six years; his campaign was quiet, restrained, and relatively limited in scope, yet he won by a majority of 54,000 out of a total of approximately 200,000 votes, although every other state and congressional office went overwhelmingly Democratic. Borah seems assured of reelection as long as his strength holds out, for he is not governed by the ordinary rules of politics. Neither the ebb and flow of party fortunes nor the ever-changing complexion of national and state issues seem to have any effect upon his popularity with the people. Idaho is proud to accept him on his own terms; no greater tribute can be paid.

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Now and again he has thrown his splendid powers of oratory behind some issue of local interest. Particularly was this true during the earlier years of his career. During the first years following statehood he was influential in stamping out the hostility to the Mormon Church because of his belief in freedom of religion and his intense dislike of intolerance and bigotry. Likewise he has consistently advocated fuller recognition of the rights of silver in our monetary system, and he has frequently defended the rights of labor. More recently, the direct primary and prohibition have received strong support from him.

And yet his influence in the actual politics of the state is probably not as great as that of any of half a dozen other figures whose names would be meaningless outside its borders. It is primarily to the other three members of Idaho's congressional delegation that the farmers, the miners, the sheepmen, and the timber interests turn for federal assistance. These individuals, all able men, find it necessary to pay more attention to the conventional pattern of congressional conduct if they are to expect reëndorsement when their present term expires. Idaho can continue to afford the luxury of a Borah* as long as it can look to the other congressmen to care for its material wants.

PARTY ORGANIZATION

What part does organization play in determining Idaho elections? Territorial Idaho, it will be recalled, was strongly Democratic, with the exception of the officials appointed by the Republican administration in Washington. By the time statehood was achieved, in 1890, however, the population had become chiefly Republican and the first elective officials were of that party. The Republican party has continued to be the dominant one, but its margin of superiority has never been large enough for it to assume a position of complete independence, and a Democratic victory has always remained a strong possibility. It is only natural that the Republican

*Senator Borah died in January, 1940, and ex-Senator John Thomas, of Idaho, was appointed by the governor to serve out Borah's unexpired term. Thomas is a Republican and a former member of the national committee of his party.

organization would be the more highly perfected. With it have been associated most of the leading political figures. Under the old convention system of nomination, the inner circles of officialdom were jealously guarded. It was well-nigh impossible for an outsider, no matter how great his ability, to secure the Republican nomination for an important office. Even Borah found this to be true in his first attempt to reach the Senate, in 1902. The adoption of the direct primary has aided materially in the breaking down of this party oligarchy.

The voters began early to exhibit their now familiar tendency toward independence. While the nominating machinery might be controlled with an iron hand, it was a much different matter when it came to the general elections. The influence of Populism in the early nineties is illustrative. The Republican party, by incorporating most of the important Populist planks in its platform, was able to squeeze through with a close win in the state offices in 1892, but the electoral vote went to the Populist candidate. By 1894, both major parties were endorsing free silver and woman suffrage while the Democrats had added a plank calling for direct election of senators. Silver had rapidly become important enough to wreck the Republican party in the state if it failed to make some concessions to it, and the party leaders were wise enough to recognize this. In 1896, the Republican state convention endorsed silver but the national convention adopted a sound money plank. The Republican party in Idaho was split wide open with Borah, Dubois, and others espousing the cause of silver while McConnell, Heyburn, and many of the so-called Old Guard remained regular. A fusion ticket made up of Silver-Republicans, Populists, and Democrats won the state offices, and the electoral vote went to Bryan, thus showing the prevailing characteristic of Idaho voters. The Republican party can win in normal times but, when issues of special interest to the voters as a whole arise, Republican regularity will be thrown overboard if the party fails to follow the popular will in its platform. This situation has repeated itself so often that its persistence can-

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not be doubted. An analysis of the vote in 1898, 1900, 1912, 1914, 1916, and the years since 1930 exhibit the trend with surprising regularity.

Senator Borah's independence of party organization has already been commented upon. More often than not he has triumphed when his strongest opposition was to be found in the inner circles of the state Republican organization. Such was the case in 1918 and to an even greater degree in 1924, yet he won by enormous majorities in both cases. With this exception, organization support has normally been essential for success as a Republican for any state-wide office, thus indicating the importance which must be given to it.

But what about the Democratic party? Realizing that any comments upon the Democratic party must be purely tentative, from the very nature of what has taken place during the past eight years, it still seems clear that it cannot be explained in the same terms that would accurately describe the Republicans. Prior to 1930, a Democratic organization in anything other than a legal sense was practically non-existent in the state. A Democrat had been elected governor from 1914 to 1918 but what little active organization was then in existence had long since died of starvation during the long political famine which followed.

In November, 1930, C. Ben Ross, the Democratic candidate for governor, astonished every one, including the Republican party, by winning with a comfortable margin, the lone Democrat to win a major state office that year. Governor Ross lost no time in laying the ground work for a strong state-wide Democratic organization with himself at the head. The path was not without obstacles, and the Democratic landslide in 1932 helped in some respects to complicate the task. Other figures rose to prominence, not all of whom were disposed to acknowledge the hegemony of Ross. Considerable internal friction followed, and Idaho's Democracy seemed about to fall into two or even three parts. With varying patterns and shifting personnel this condition has continued to exist, with the result that the Democratic party

today is so badly torn by internal friction that it is in grave danger of losing all it has gained during the past decade.

If one were to attempt a generalization upon party organization it probably would be accurate to say that, although organization plays some part in Idaho politics, it cannot begin to compare to the importance of organization either on the Pacific Coast or in the East. It is still possible for a strong personality, with even limited financial backing, to achieve success in a state-wide campaign, not only without the support of, but in the face of active opposition from the regular organizations.

NOMINATION METHODS

The career of the direct primary is typical of the vicissitudes it has experienced throughout the country. First introduced in 1909 as a preferential primary for all offices, it was subjected to modification in 1911, and 1913, until 1919, when the preferential feature was abolished and the direct primary was restricted to county offices. This condition persisted, with all state-wide and congressional offices being nominated by state convention until 1931, when the direct primary was once again made state-wide in application. The 1931 law provided for an open type of primary, the voter being obliged to request the ballot of the party in which he wished to participate, but no party test was imposed and no party declaration was necessary when registering. Scarcely a session of the legislature has gone by without some changes being made in the primary law. In 1933, the date was shifted from the fourth Tuesday in May to the second Tuesday in August, and a non-partisan primary for the nomination of state and district judges was restored after a lapse of sixteen years. No changes occurred in 1935, but by 1937 legislative dissatisfaction expressed itself in what has been popularly called a wide-open primary.²⁶ The present law provides for a single nominating ballot upon which the candidates of all parties appear. Each party is allotted a single column on the ballot and the elector must confine himself to one party in

26. *Idaho Sessions Laws*, 1937, Ch. 54.

expressing his choice. He designates the party in which he desires to participate by marking an (x) in the large circle heading the column. Any votes cast in columns other than the one designated are void for that particular office but the entire ballot is not invalidated thereby. Election judges reported some wasted votes by attempts to scratch the ballots but the number was not great enough to excite comment. What the effects, if any, of this primary law will be it is impossible to predict. The law, while more open than most direct primary laws, does not begin to go as far as that passed by the neighboring state of Washington in 1935. This law requires that all candidates for nomination for any office must be listed together without regard to party. It bears some resemblance to a non-partisan primary except that each candidate's political affiliation is listed after his name and presumably the person receiving the largest number of votes in his party will represent that party on the general election ballots. Idaho's new law, undoubtedly influenced by that of Washington, has been received but not wholly accepted. The direct primary in Idaho has never enjoyed unanimous support. At least part of the constant tinkering which it has had to endure has been a reflection of this discontent. Numerous attempts have been made to scrap it entirely, the last one occurring no longer ago than the 1939 session. Although its supporters were successful in once more driving off its would-be destroyers, it appears to be merely a matter of time until it is again superseded by the convention, at least for nominating state-wide officials. The direct primary does not appear to be a partisan issue; as far as can be determined it has little genuine support from the leaders in either party; there is bountiful evidence that no tears would be shed within the party circles if it were to be wiped off the books. The general voting public seems well satisfied to have it retained, however, and in general it has received the support of the press. To date the legislature has not been unmindful of the dilemma but has not seen fit to unequivocally scrap it. Each session since 1931 has seen bills introduced calculated to destroy or emasculate the direct pri-

mary. One of the most persistent criticisms voiced is the large number of plurality nominations that it produces. In recent primaries as many as eight or ten candidates have contested for the nomination for certain offices, the result being that the winning candidate receives but a fraction of the total vote cast yet wins the right to represent his party in the general election. One of the newspapers recently expressed its view of the situation in the following terms: "We have seen on more than one occasion a man who could win only 10,000 votes in a party primary election become governor of Idaho. They very probably would not have been the party's selection had the primary race been limited to two or three candidates; but in a field of eight or ten an organized minority, a minority backed with money or backed with coercion, can and has won."

Another objection to the direct primary from the point of view of the north has been that it has had the effect of depriving that section of the state from adequate representation in the various elective administrative offices. Only once since 1931, when the present primary law was passed, have the ten northern counties succeeded in placing a representative in one of these positions. Observers contend that a return to the convention system would restore a more equitable geographical distribution of the state-wide offices.

Finally, some of the leaders in both parties have been disappointed, to state it mildly, at the results that the primary has produced. In more than a single instance Idaho voters have succumbed to their well-known penchant for independence, and organization plans have gone for nought, organization candidates being snowed under by some little-known opponent whose vote-getting power had been greatly underrated.

The case against the direct primary is a long suffering and cumulative one. Although in the past it has assumed the form of constant tinkering and changing, it promises in the future to culminate in either outright repeal or comprehensive restriction in scope and importance.

Chapter VI

MONTANA: POLITICAL ENIGMA OF THE NORTHERN ROCKIES

By NEWTON CARL ABBOTT



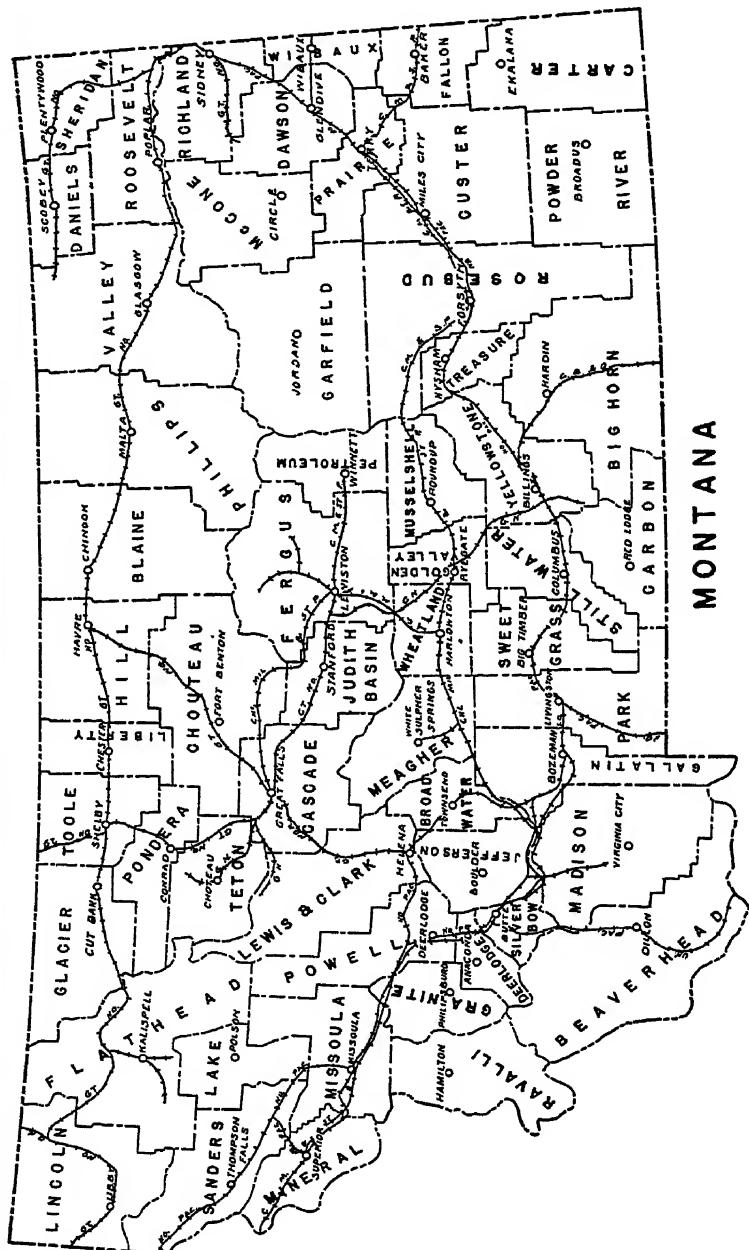
Montana is an interesting state, and in many ways a peculiar one. A wide variety of forces, social, economic, political, and geographic have worked together to make of it a political unit now soundly established and well rooted in a considerable body of tradition.

Various waves of American pioneering have made their contributions to its present-day life. Mining for the precious metals during the hectic years of the Civil War came first. Bonanza ranching, with its dreams of great profits, followed. Railroad pioneering in the construction of transcontinental railroads provided necessary transportation outlets. A last wave of agricultural pioneering contributed to the area the flavor of older farming regions. Other lesser, but important developments have been lumbering, irrigation farming, and the latest production of the mountain frontier, water conservation. All these have left their imprint on the social, economic, and political life of Montana, sometimes known as the Treasure state.

GEOGRAPHY AND RESOURCES

Montana is a state that has been aptly named. Adopted direct from Latin, the name means "mountainous." The entire state is either a part of the Rocky Mountain highland or of its immediate foothills. In one way or another the mountains have given direction and character to the entire life of the state and will ever remain its most powerful geographic control.

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Montana is truly a state of magnificent distances. Third in size among American commonwealths, and outranked only by Texas and California, its boundaries surround approximately one twenty-fifth of all of the land of the United States. Along the forty-ninth parallel, the line of division between Canada and the United States, it occupies a distance of five hundred and eighty miles, or about the distance from Boston to Richmond, Virginia. Ten of the thirteen original states of the Union could be laid out in Montana, with more than enough left over to make a second state of Virginia.

If space and distance are important in the creation and continuance of a democratic social order, and many students of American life maintain that they are, Montana, in common with the other states of the Rocky Mountain group, is well fixed in this respect. Much of the rugged individualism for which many Americans have come to mourn in recent years is still alive in the broad open spaces of the Treasure state.

Although largely a mountain area, Montana is not all mountainous, though in the eyes of a tourist from the Mississippi valley it might well appear as such. Of her 94,000,000 acres, approximately one-third is mountainous, one-third is mountain and plains area suitable for grazing, and the remaining one-third is land that may be utilized for agriculture, either by means of irrigation or dry-farming methods. In average elevation, which is 3,900 feet, Montana is the lowest of the Rocky Mountain group.¹ Forty-nine per cent of Montana acres are less than 5,000 feet above sea level. Where the Missouri river crosses the eastern boundary, the elevation is 1,912 feet. Altitude and slope give direction and fall to Montana rivers and provide a natural setting for many successful irrigation projects. Specialized agriculture, made possible by irrigation, is a highly important factor in the economic life of the state.

The elevation and directional trend of Montana mountains established the pattern for the human geography of

1. *Montana: Resources and Opportunities*, 1938, p. 7.

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the region. Montana owes much to the fact that the directions taken by the streams are generally from west to east, and the further fact that mountain passes of low altitude are situated closely adjacent to the streams, thereby providing a transportation pattern to fit the constant westward trend of American life.

Three great railway systems, the Northern Pacific, the Great Northern, and the Milwaukee have made use of these river valleys and mountain passes in finding their way over and through this section of the Rocky Mountain highland. Three trunk-line motor highways and one nationally recognized air line follow the same geographic routes. These routes have also determined the pattern of population distribution. Had not Montana possessed these natural avenues of travel to the Pacific, probably only the southwestern section of the state with its mineral resources, which prompted the building of a part of the Oregon Short Line as a feeder branch for the Union Pacific, would now be well developed.

A very fortunate geographic circumstance that has meant much to Montana is the fact that within these stream valleys, the Yellowstone, the Missouri, and the Clark's fork of the Columbia, with their branches, is found the most fertile and arable land of the region. Glacial lakes and stream erosion coöperated in the creation of this condition. In the northern section of the state the great continental ice sheet had its way in modifying the landscape and making it ready for great fields of wheat and oceans of nutritious grasses. These factors, also, have had their influence in the grouping of population and in fixing patterns of economic and social action.

Another fortunate combination of climatic conditions has saved Montana from the status of a great interior desert. Maximum precipitation, averaging from 15 to 20 inches annually, and the longest sunlight days come at about the same season of the year, during the months of April, May, and June. In a latitude between the forty-fifth and forty-ninth parallels, this is a fact of no small importance. Plant

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life flourishes amazingly during these sun-drenched weeks. Native grasses, alfalfa and other forage crops, wheat and other grains develop with great rapidity. Grasses are at full vigor early in July when rains diminish and disappear so that further growth comes to an end except when assisted by irrigation and tillage. Standing grass becomes sweet, nutritious hay on the stalk, and the proper setting is prepared for a great range industry.

This was a natural range country long before the white man came. Buffaloes roamed here in countless thousands. They have been replaced by a cattle population now numbering over 1,000,000 and sheep numbering more than 3,000,000. After some trial and error, Montana people have become convinced that stability in the rural phase of their life is to be found in stock raising and in the type of mixed farming in which feed and forage are of first importance. Though not as rural in outlook as any of the neighboring states, Montana's chief wealth is in soil and climate. Since 1908, Montana has been predominately a farming and ranching state from the standpoint of sources of cash income. Farmers and stockmen of the state are, by far, the most numerous group among the gainfully employed workers, representing over 36 per cent. Agrarian interests figure largely in all phases of state politics.

But despite the present-day order of the economic forces in Montana life, the state is and will ever remain very much a mining state. As noted earlier, one-third of its area is mountainous and parts of this section are very rugged indeed, though of lesser elevation than the Rocky Mountain highland both north and south. The highest point in the state, Granite peak in the Beartooth range, near the southern border, has an altitude of 12,920 feet. The continental divide, which crosses the western part of the state and along the southwestern border, has an altitude of about 8,000 feet. The high altitude area of the state is in Madison, Gallatin, Park, Stillwater, and Carbon counties. Here and in the adjacent mountains of Yellowstone park are the fountain heads of the Jefferson, Madison, and Gallatin rivers that

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unite to form the Missouri at Three Forks. Here, also, the Yellowstone has its beginnings.

West of the continental divide is the Columbia basin area, a region of diverse landscape features: mountain ranges, the greater part well covered with forest growth, fertile valleys, rushing streams, and clear mountain lakes. It was in this section, on Gold creek, that placer gold was first found, in 1852, and placer mining is still carried on in the same locality. Here and elsewhere in the Montana mountains gold is still found in commercial quantities, but not to be compared in importance with the rich strikes that made Alder, Last Chance, and Confederate Gulches famous in the 1860's as some of the richest placer locations in the world.

It is the variety of valuable mineral resources to be found in the Montana mountains that has prompted the descriptive name of "Treasure State." The hunt for gold led to the discovery of silver and this, in turn, revealed the rich deposits of copper, zinc, and lead. The list of other minerals is a long one. Most recent development, though in the plains area, has been the opening of oil and gas fields of great promise. Montana is ready for the days of "stainless steel" with one of the world's richest deposits of chromium and also is ready to furnish manganese in great quantities. Coal, of excellent quality, is widely distributed and easily accessible. In fact, it is almost a platitude among well-informed Montana people to say that the full extent and diversity of the state's mineral resources still awaits discovery.²

In many ways, this mineral wealth and the busy activity connected with its exploitations has furnished some of the most powerful drives that are back of the life of present-day Montana. The early mining pioneers were a hardy breed and believers in the code of direct action in public and private affairs. Many of them spent only a few years in the region, but many others remained and played an important part in the formation of territorial and state traditions, political and otherwise. Their successors are still numerous,

2. *Montana: Resources and Opportunities*, 1933, p. 51 et sub.

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for over 8 per cent of the gainful workers of the state are enlisted in mining enterprises. They are well organized and are able to register their thinking strongly in all phases of public life.

Another geographical factor of great importance in Montana is the trees. More than 20,000,000 acres, or some two-ninths of the state's area, is classified as forest land, covered by merchantable timber, cut over, burned, or young growth.³ Of this forest land, 17,800,000 acres are publicly owned: 15,930,000 acres as national forest reserves, 560,000 acres as state forests, and 780,000 acres as Indian land. The mining industries use much timber, but a great quantity finds its way into the lumber market. Forests are highly esteemed for the protection that they afford for the water-sheds from which water for irrigation and power must come. Conservation policies are popular in Montana and all calls to public and private action along this line meet with a ready response. Of prime importance in a state where the grazing industry figures so largely is the controlled use of national forest land for summer range.

ECONOMIC IMPULSES

While Montana is predominantly agricultural, the patterns of thought and action common throughout the state are not the same as those of the older farming states. Stability in the rural life of the state, where it exists, has been a latter-day development, in the nature of an after-effect of earlier phases of Montana life that have left their imprint on the rural thought of the state.

Placer mining was the cause of the first rush of population to the Montana mountains. The stampede to Alder Gulch and the beginnings of Virginia City were in the making while the guns were thundering at Gettysburg. Last Chance Gulch was discovered while Sherman was battering at the defenses of Atlanta. The get-rich-quick idea was the urge that prompted this and all other similar mining booms. Settled life and permanent development were not a part of

3. U. S. Dept. of Agriculture, *Miscellaneous Circular*, No. 48, Feb., 1928.

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the picture. To a considerable degree, the same spirit prevailed in the agricultural development that followed these dramatic years, though it has diminished during the past two decades.

The great days of bonanza ranching, between 1880 and 1900, were similar to the boom days of mining in prevalence of the exploitative spirit. In this case, the sea of grass was the great natural resource, and the urge was strong to get everything possible from it in the shortest possible time. Large scale ranching was carried on in the grand manner, at least until the bitter winter of 1886-87 called a halt by decimating, and in some cases by practically wiping out the far ranging and neglected herds.⁴ But the gambling spirit still pertains in much of the rural life of the state. Dry land farming in the spring wheat sections of the state is laid out on a large scale. In the arid years, of which there are altogether too many, this proves to be a glorious gamble. When conditions are good, Montana wheat commands a substantial premium in the markets because of its high protein content. When conditions are adverse, the result may be the elimination of some of the less hardy and venturesome among the farmers. Others hold on, hoping that future winnings will more than cover their losses.

The census count of 1930 showed a decline since 1920 of 2.1 per cent in state population.⁵ To those who consider numerical growth a sure index of social advance and look upon a shrinking of population totals as a sure sign of social and economic decay, this fact would appear as a danger signal. Just what the census of 1940 will show is a matter of speculation, but it probably will not reveal any considerable population increase. However, study reveals that the shifting and eliminating, characteristic of a marginal agricultural area, have left a tried and proved farm population, with an increased proportion of native sons and daughters, experienced, well-organized, and aggressive in their own

4. Abbott, N. C., *Montana in the Making*, 1939, p. 365.

5. Fifteenth Census of the U. S., *Population Bulletin*, *Montana, Second Series*, p. 3.

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interest. This group has found, experimentally, that success in the rural life of Montana is based on ability to "mix brains with the soil."

The departure from the exploitative spirit, so characteristic of the early years of Montana life, and the growing determination to understand and solve the problems of rural life in a marginal area has gained impetus in recent years. Despite the sparsity of population—Montana has only 3.6 inhabitants per square mile—farm organizations are many and active. While it would be incorrect to speak of a "farm bloc" in state politics, it is true that farmers and stockmen are the largest group in state political gatherings and, as such, are listened to with respect by political leaders.

The Farmers' Union, the Grange, and the Farm Bureau are the three most influential rural organizations. Montana farmers are well organized under the S. C. A. Coöperative grazing districts under the Taylor Grazing Act are numerous. Rural electrification, under the R. E. A., has been extended rapidly during the recent years. There is a feeling that the early completion of the giant Fort Peck Dam, and of other similar federal projects now under construction or contemplated, may create a "measuring stick," similar to the T. V. A., for electrical energy costs in the Northwest.

Though well organized and politically conscious, Montana farmers have been peculiarly free from the experimental radicalism that has pertained in some rural areas of the nation in recent years. Probably the best explanation of this is found in the singular diversity and variety of the population and the complexity of the interests involved in the rural life of the state. No group is large enough or commanding enough to dominate the state. Cattle, sheep, sugar, and copper create a leaning toward protection and a suspicious attitude toward international trade agreements. Soil and water conservation, rural electrification, federal aid highways, programs of social security and other left-wing-proposals, all have their strong appeal. A balance of interest and influence in politics and public affairs is the natural outcome.

Very closely related to farming interests in Montana

are the problems and concerns of the stockraisers, as has been previously noted. Traditions of the great days of the open range are still powerful and the voice of the grazing interests, as expressed through their two powerful organizations, the Montana Stockgrower's Association and the Montana Woolgrower's Association, is listened to with great respect. The trend of their influence is decidedly conservative, though they are strong advocates of the practices of grazing control and federal forest reserves, of which Montana has many. The proposal to return public land to state ownership and control has many advocates from among this group.

In brief summary, it may be stated that the farm life of Montana in the upland and semi-arid areas is based on spring wheat and other minor grain crops and grazing. In the river valleys, where irrigation is possible, and where the major fraction of the rural population of the state is grouped, specialized agriculture is the rule. Sugar beets, alfalfa, Great Northern beans, corn, winter wheat and, in favored sections, apples and cherries are the prevailing crops. The rural thought of the state is guided and controlled by the policies and proposals most closely related to these interests.

Another very strong factor in the life of the state is its mines. Montana was famous as a mining community long before its agricultural possibilities were even suspected. On the state seal, the miner's pick and shovel and the phrase "Ora y Plata" suggest the controlling thoughts that were in the minds of Montana pioneers.

Butte, the largest city of the state, and in many respects its metropolis, is often spoken of as the "largest copper-mining camp on earth." Closely connected with it by geography and economic and social interest is Anaconda, a smelter city with the outlook of a manufacturing and labor-union conscious community. A considerable faction of the state's second city in size, Great Falls, where the Anaconda Copper Company's refinery and manufacturing plant is located, has the same economic, social, and political complex. Good times and bad times in these and in many other mining communi-

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ties alternate with the rise and fall in the price of copper. National policies affecting mining products are matters of acute concern in the Montana mountains.

The mining interests of the state are in a strategic economic and political position, for their many activities affect state income and influence state thought. The Anaconda Copper Mining Company holds the controlling influence in mining affairs. Much timber and lumber is needed in the mines, so it is no surprise to find the "A. C. M." holding the largest privately-owned acreage of merchantable timber and owning and operating logging camps, logging railroads, saw mills, and retail lumber yards. While its hold on the lumber interests is not a controlling one, its influence is very strong.

Hydro-electric energy is abundant in Montana and much of it is used in mining and ore reduction. The mining section, and all but a small fraction of the other part of the state, is served by the Montana Power Company, which is closely affiliated with the Anaconda Copper Mining Company. The "A. C. M." also has its own gas wells and pipe lines, as natural gas is extensively used in the smelters at Anaconda and elsewhere. Most of the influential newspapers of the state are also owned and controlled by the same group of interests.

But the control exercised by the mining interests of the state is of a benevolent nature. Although the miners, skilled workers, and technicians employed in the many and varied operations suggested by the above summary are fully organized and possessed of a keen group consciousness, labor troubles are very rare in Montana. The spirit of collective bargaining is allowed full play, and a common ground has been found in the rise and fall of the price of copper. If the "big company" attempts in any way to control the politics and public life of the state, it is through methods of indirection and subtlety that are apparent to but very few. There is a general feeling throughout the state that without the resources, organization and directing influence of masters of capital, Montana life would be very poorly sustained.

THE HUMAN ELEMENT

With a geographic and economic background so varied and diverse, it is not strange to find in Montana a singular population mosaic. All the states of the Union and all the immigrant groups represented elsewhere in the United States have made their contributions. In the main, however, Montana's population is of American origin, for only 13.3 per cent are foreign born, though 30 per cent are native white of foreign parentage.⁶ Fifty-four per cent come from old American stock and, in 1930, nearly one-half, or exactly 47.7 per cent were native sons and daughters of Montana.

Climatic influences, the lure of special industries and occupations, and the general appeal of American pioneering, are responsible for the location of the various foreign-born and out-of-state groups in Montana. Immigrants from northern Europe are in the majority, Scandinavians and Germans being most numerous. Dry land wheat culture and specialized agriculture in the irrigated valleys attracted these rural-minded people. In the northwestern counties, the timber industries have drawn many Norwegians. The largest concentration of Danes is located in the bench land district of the northeastern counties; where a strong effort is being made to extend the methods of coöperation and collectivism that are common in their home land. It is significant to note that the only place where Communism has really raised its head in Montana is in this Nordic and agricultural environment.

Immigrants from Great Britain and Ireland have rallied largely around the mining industries. The largest concentrations of the Irish are to be found in the two mining counties of Silver Bow and Deer Lodge. The call of copper and coal mining has drawn a considerable number of people from Jugo-Slavia, Austria, Finland, and Italy to Silver Bow, Deer Lodge, Cascade, Musselshell, and Carbon counties. The largest group of Russians, mainly German-Russians, is to be found in Yellowstone county, where sugar-beet culture

6. Fifteenth Census of the U. S., *Population Bulletin, Montana, Second Series*, p. 5.

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is highly developed. Gallatin county, one of the best in the state for general farming, has the largest colony of native-born Hollanders.

To properly evaluate the influence of these many and varied population groups, and the character of their reactions to political situations would be a complex task. So widely are the foreign-born distributed that nowhere are they a dominant or controlling group. The same may be said of those who have come from other states to settle in Montana. Some few signs of localism appear but they are of small significance. Carter, one of the distinctively "cow" counties, with the highest per cent of American stock, turns up a consistent majority for the Democratic party, as does Silver Bow with its many Irish and other foreign groups that make it the most foreign county in the state. Yellowstone county, with its large groups of German and Russian farmers and with the state's third largest city within its borders, is the most consistently Republican county in the state. Bozeman, the most American among the cities of Montana, is strongly Republican.

Interplay of thought and opinion is allowed free rein in Montana. There is very little illiteracy, the figure of 1930 being 1.7 per cent.⁷ Even among the fifteen thousand or more Indians within the state's borders, more than seventy-five per cent can read and write. Illiteracy is highest among the foreign-born but is rapidly being reduced by an alert, well-organized and fairly well-financed school system that regularly enrolls, as students and teachers, over one-fifth of the entire population. Through the press, a well-developed system of mail distribution that reaches even the remote districts regularly, and several radio stations, information and opinion is well distributed. Montana people are keenly alive to and well informed on all national and international issues.

Every city of prominence has a strong Chamber of Commerce or commercial club. Rotary, Kiwanis, and Lions clubs are numerous. The professional educators' organization, the Montana Education Association, has on its mem-

7. *Ibid.*, p. 10.

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bership rolls five out of every six of the teachers of the state. Twenty-eight per cent of Montana people are church members, the leading groups among these being the Roman Catholics, the Lutherans, and the Methodists. Broad toleration of thought and opinion is the rule.

On matters of common interest, in line with the progressive tendencies of the times, there has been no hesitation on the part of the people in moving forward. Compulsory attendance laws have governed the schools since before statehood. A child labor law was enacted in 1907. Direct legislative action by the people was made possible by the adoption of an initiative amendment to the constitution in 1911, but the recall was considered too radical. A workingmen's compensation system was set up in 1915, and an eight-hour day for state employees was made legal in 1917. Inheritance taxes, and levies on the gross incomes of mines and smelters have resulted from direct action of the people. A highway system, financed by a five-cent tax on gasoline and policed by an efficient highway patrol, has greatly improved travel conditions for residents and tourists. In 1937, a Department of Public Welfare was created to administer social security legislation. The organized teachers of the state, after years of effort, have secured the establishment of a sound system of retirement compensation.

Progressive, but not radical, conservative, but not reactionary, Montana is striving to keep pace with the spirit of the times.⁸ No single group or interest is influential enough to put over its program in entirety. No economic interest is so compelling as to be able to rally a majority of the voting strength of the state in its interest. Montana has long been a "doubtful" state, and something of a headache for political prophets.

POLITICS AND POLITICIANS

There was a time, in the days of Montana territory (1864-1889), when the balance between political parties was not so well established. The rush for gold brought to the

8. Abbott, N. C., *Montana in the Making*, 1939, Chap. XXV.

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region many people with Southern leanings and more Democrats than Republicans.

The party alignment became definite early in the life of Montana territory. The first territorial delegate to be elected to Congress, in 1864, was Samuel R. McLean, a Democrat. With only one exception every delegate sent to Congress until 1888 was of the same party. The exception was William H. Clagett, a Republican, who was elected in 1870, and who held the office for one two-year term. It is a notable fact that the territory received many very valuable favors from the Republicans during this brief interlude.

The changing political complexion of the territory and a forecast of the future balance of parties in the state may be seen in the closeness of the votes for the office of territorial delegate. In the election of 1870, Clagett had won by the close vote of 5,274 to 4,861. In 1872, he was pushed aside by Martin Maginnis, by the closer vote of 4,515 to 4,196. Maginnis continued to hold the office by small margins over strong Republican rivals until 1884, when he was succeeded by another Democrat. In the last election of a territorial delegate, in 1888, there was a Republican landslide. Thomas H. Carter, a Republican, won over William A. Clark, a Democrat, by the decisive vote of 22,486 to 17,360. The true political complexion of Montana at that time was more nearly reflected in the vote of October 1, 1889, when Carter stood for the office of member of the House of Representatives from the new state and won over his Democratic rival, Maginnis, by a vote of 19,826 to 18,278.

Throughout this period, the Democrats had the upper hand in the legislative assembly most of the time. Governors and members of the territorial supreme court followed the trend of national politics, these being appointive offices.⁹ Herein was a source of political friction that produced much heat during these formative years of Montana life.

A story that still is bandied about at meetings of the Society of Montana Pioneers, and relished by the oldsters who know or have heard much of conditions during the ter-

9. Paxson, F. H., *History of the American Frontier*, 1924, p. 559.

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ritorial days, has a point in this connection. Referring to the early years of the Civil War and the bitter fighting necessary to hold Missouri for the Union, it is said that the left wing of the army of General Price, a prominent Confederate leader, never surrendered. Rather, it retreated to Montana. While specific facts stated in this "wise-crack" may be somewhat broad, the situation that it suggests was a true one. To these facts might be added the further one that the many men who came up the Texas trail during the great years of the Long Drive brought with them both longhorn cattle and their political allegiances.

But during the decade of the 1880's, important changes were on the way in Montana life that moved in the direction of a closer division on political issues. In 1883, the Northern Pacific Railroad was completed across Montana and on to Puget Sound. It brought in a flood of settlers from such strongly Republican states as Minnesota, Wisconsin, Michigan, and others farther east, as well as many immigrants from Canada and some from northern Europe. This tide of settlement swelled still further, in 1887, when the St. Paul, Minneapolis and Manitoba, parent of the Great Northern, reached Helena and extended in the following year to Butte. By 1893, its line to Seattle was complete and the territory that it serves was filling with settlers. During the decade of 1880-90, Montana's rate of population growth was 265 per cent. Changes in political alignment were sure to come with this growth. Statehood was achieved November 8, 1889.

Here, again, there was a hint of prophecy regarding the balanced character of political affairs. In the personnel of the delegate convention that drafted the constitution, there were thirty-seven Democrats, thirty-four Republicans, and four who called themselves Independents.¹⁰

The fires of political partisanship blazed up in no uncertain way as soon as the work of organizing a state government began. At the election of October 1, 1889, when Montana people had approved their constitution and elected all necessary state officers, they chose a Democrat, Joseph K.

10. Abbott, N. C., *Montana Government*, 1937, p. 65.

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Toole, as their first state governor. The fight for control of the legislature, which discharged the duty of electing two United States senators was very closely contested. Out of this election came a contest that is still regarded as historic in Montana affairs, for it divided the legislative assembly for its entire session and finally placed the choice of United States senators in the hands of the United States Senate, itself. That body had a Republican majority and seated two Republicans as Montana's first United States senators, W. F. Sanders and T. C. Power.

The presidential election of 1892 was the first one in which Montana had an opportunity to cast an electoral vote. Perhaps the Democrats might have carried the state for Cleveland had it not been for the fact that many new people had recently come into Montana from states where the Populist movement was strong. At that, the margin between Republicans and Democrats was small, as may be seen in the vote for president: Republican, 18,851; Democrat, 17,581; Populist, 7,344.

CLARK-DALY FEUD

In the election of 1892, a Republican congressman, a Democrat governor, and a Democrat chief justice were elected. All other state officers were Republicans. In the membership of the third legislative assembly, chosen at the same election, there were twenty-six Democrats, twenty-six Republicans, and three Populists elected to the lower house, with nine Democrats and seven Republicans in the senate. Again, the question of the selection of a United States senator was the big issue. Under the joint ballot plan which prevailed at that time, the Democrats might have combined and named their choice, who was W. A. Clark. But here a bitter feud within the party that had its roots in mining affairs, rather than politics, blazed up and destroyed all possibility of party unity. It was an old fight between W. A. Clark and Marcus Daly, both mining magnates and both Democrats, for control of the party organization of Silver Bow county and the state. It was the opening skirmish of a battle, the din of which resounded through the state and nation, and it

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left behind a record of political manipulation that did much to illustrate the need of popular choice of United States senators.

A majority vote of the joint membership of the two houses was necessary for an election. Many issues entered into the fight, not the least of which was the question of the permanent location of the state capital, the Clark faction favoring Helena, the territorial capital, and the Daly faction favored the rising young smelter city of Anaconda.¹¹ Populists divided themselves between the two factions of Democrats, and some Republicans forsook their party candidate, Lee Mantle, to join with the two factions of the Democrats. The result was that the session ended without electing a senator. Governor Rickards promptly appointed Mantle to the place but the United States Senate denied him a seat. For two years, March 4, 1893, to March 4, 1895, Montana was represented by only one man in the upper body of Congress.

The election of 1894 brought to an end the struggle over the location of the capital, with Helena the victor. William A. Clark saw the fulfillment of his wishes and the triumph of his faction in this outcome. He also saw his party hopelessly beaten in the election of members for the legislature, which again had as its most important task the election of two United States senators. In this legislature, there were more Populists than Democrats and more Republicans than the total of Populists and Democrats combined. After some skirmishing, the names of Lee Mantle and Thomas H. Carter, both Republicans, were placed before the joint session and were elected without difficulty.

Political dynamite for the Republican party in Montana was inherent in the issues that were before the nation in the election of 1896. Silver production was going strong. The issues of free and unlimited coinage at the ratio of 16 to 1, backed by the eloquence of Bryan and the specious propaganda of Coin's Financial School, drew many staunch Montana Republicans away from the party fold and caused them to join with the Silver-Republicans. They succeeded in

^{11.} *Ibid.*, pp. 87-41; 117-18.

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returning to Congress their former representative, Charles S. Hartman, who knew his Montana well enough to become an earnest Silver-Republican. The Democrats placed no candidate in the field, as silver was the overwhelming issue. In this election, the regular, gold-standard Republican candidate, O. F. Goddard, received a vote of 9,482, while Hartman had a vote of 33,932. At the same election a Democrat with Populist leanings, Robert B. Smith, was chosen for governor by a vote which gave him a total of 36,668, and his Republican opponent, Alexander C. Botkin, only 14,993. In the legislature that met during the following winter, Democrats and Populists combined, so that there was little or no strife of rival political factions. In the by-election of 1898, the three-party division in Montana politics that prevailed throughout the years of Populism caused the choice of representative in Congress to go to a Democrat.

But this election of 1898 had a meaning all of its own within Montana. William A. Clark was a man in whom ambition could not be denied by many defeats. He was a Democrat, but the inner circles of the party in Montana were under the control of his bitter rival, Marcus Daly. Clark had beaten Daly in the fight for the capital, but Daly was a fighter of no mean ability himself. The campaign for control of the legislature was a bitter one and will be long remembered as one of the great episodes in Montana politics, though the issues were entirely intra-state.¹²

The supporters of Clark were many and powerful. They brought into existence a campaign organization outside of the regular Democratic state central committee, which was liberally financed by Clark. All of the devious devices known to partisan politics were used by both factions in this contest. Money was used freely and openly. Debts were assumed and mortgages were liquidated. Republicans and Democrats, both, were brought into the circle of these influences. When the legislature assembled, the battle for control was continued. When the smoke had cleared away it was found that Clark had been elected. This was, in no sense, a

12. Sanders, Helen, *History of Montana*, 1914, Vol. I, p. 407 *et seq.*

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triumph for the Democratic party, but rather, another victory for the Clark faction, to which both Democrats and Republicans adhered.

However, the matter did not end here. When Clark presented himself, on March 4, 1899, to fill the place made vacant by the ending of the term of Lee Mantle, he found that the record in the matter had preceded him in the form of a memorial, signed by Governor Robert Smith and many other Montana leaders of both parties, alleging corruption in connection with his election and remonstrating against his being seated. The Senate Committee on Privileges and Elections held an extended hearing at which the whole matter was gone over and the contention of the memorialists was established to the satisfaction of the committee. But before their report was presented to the Senate, Clark filed his resignation, so no further action was taken.

At home his supporters had been busy and were ready for action. They had brought it about that Governor Smith should be absent from the state on the day when his resignation reached the governor's office. In this situation, the duties and responsibilities of the governorship fell on the shoulders of the lieutenant-governor, A. E. Spriggs, who was a Clark supporter. On the day following the resignation, Spriggs appointed Clark to the vacancy created by his own withdrawal. But the Senate refused to recognize the validity of this appointment. Once again, one of the Montana senatorships was vacant for a period of two years. The final chapter of this drama of clashing personalities and rival economic interests was written in the election of Clark as senator again, in 1901, this time to succeed Thomas H. Carter. This result was made more easy by the fact that Daly, the doughty warrior, was dead and strife among the mining factions in Butte was moving toward compromise and consolidation.

The best thing that can be said about this phase of Montana politics is that it made an important contribution to the rising tide of sentiment that brought about ratification of the seventeenth amendment to the United States constitution,

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which provides for the choice of United States senators by popular election. This change removed from Montana politics one of its most controversial issues and one of its chief causes of political manipulation.

In fact, the end of the century marks an important turn in method and ideals in Montana politics and public life. Population increase and the addition of numbers to the voting population had much to do with this change. The old era of outstanding figures, personal control, and inside influence that had been so characteristic of politics and public life during territorial times and the early years of statehood was passing. It was being displaced by a demand for greater efficiency in public office and a larger measure of control by the people themselves. It was in 1906 that the state constitution was amended to provide for the initiative. One of the first important uses made of this new device was the passage of a primary election law, in 1912. In 1914, the nineteenth amendment to the federal constitution was anticipated by changing the Montana constitution to admit women to the voting privilege. A new order was taking the place of the old in Montana politics. With this spirit of progressivism came the balance and alternation in control by the major political parties that was so characteristic of Montana politics until 1933.

MONTANA AND THEODORE ROOSEVELT

By 1904, the Republicans had returned to the wars with added strength and easily chose one of their number, Thomas H. Carter, for United States senator. They were able to repeat on congressmen by returning Dixon to office in 1904. No small factor in this come-back of the Republicans in this particular year was the fact that Theodore Roosevelt was at the head of the ticket. As a young man he had ridden the range in eastern Montana, had been a member of the Montana Stockgrower's Association and had won many personal friends among Montana people. It was something more than party loyalty that resulted in a very strong vote for "Teddy." Some of the same spirit carried over in loyalty

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to Taft as Roosevelt's chosen successor in 1908, though the vote was a close one: Taft, 32,333; Bryan, 29,326; with a vote of 5,855 for Debs, Socialist.

The presidential campaign of 1912 found Montana much divided in opinion. Many were determined to follow "Teddy" through "hell and high water" and were enthusiastic supporters of his progressive program. Other Republicans could not accept the third-term idea and voted for Taft. The Democrats saw their opportunity and remained regular. In this election, the Socialists registered the greatest strength ever attained by that party in Montana. The summary of the vote, in 1912, was as follows: Wilson, 27,941; Roosevelt, 22,456; Taft, 18,512; Debs, 10,885.

During the interlude between the turn of the century and the election of Wilson, the balance between parties within the state was maintained. The legislature of 1901 followed the party line-up on president and was controlled by the Democrats, though in the lower house this condition was made possible only by the fact that eight representatives were classified as Labor, five as Independent Democrats, and five as Populists. On controversial issues some of these would combine with the thirty-two Democrats to keep the twenty-two Republicans in place. The governorship was held by a Democrat, Joseph K. Toole, who was so strong that he survived the swing back to the Republicans in 1904, and remained in office until April 1, 1908. In the legislature of 1903, the Democrats had a margin of two in the Senate, while the House was overwhelmingly Republican. In 1905, both bodies were strongly controlled by the Republicans, as was the case in 1907. In 1909 the Republicans still controlled the upper house by a safe majority but had lost the lower. The same condition was true in 1911, with an increasing Democratic majority in the House of Representatives.

When Wilson carried the state for the presidency in 1912, the entire state government went to the Democrats. Samuel V. Stewart was chosen for the post of governor, and in the election of 1916, when the spirit of loyalty to a president who had "kept us out of war" was a controlling factor,

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the electoral vote was again Democratic and "Sam" Stewart was re-elected. He proved to be an exceptionally able and resourceful war governor. In the intermediate election of 1914, the Republicans regained a doubtful hold on the state senate with 19 seats out of 41, the Democrats winning 16, the Progressives 5, and one being rated as Independent. The lower house remained in the hands of the Democrats by a safe majority.

In all matters that related to the World War, Montana people did their best to demonstrate the truth of Bryan's famous statement about the million free-men who would "spring to arms." Montana had more men in uniform, in proportion to population, than did any other state of the Union. But even in the war years, politics were not wholly laid aside.

In 1916, while endorsing the work of a Democrat president and a respected governor of the same party, Montana voters elected a state senate with a two to one Republican preponderance and a House of Representatives with a Democratic majority of two members. In 1918, with state and nation still at war, the legislature turned up with an overwhelming Republican majority in each house. At that time, both United States senators were Democrats.

THE GOLDEN TWENTIES

In the presidential elections between Wilson and Franklin D. Roosevelt, Montana has registered each time in the Republican column. There was little in the program of the Democrats under Cox, in 1920, that appealed to a state that was enjoying a wave of prosperity, based on the high price of farm products and a steady and satisfactory market for copper.

The spirit of the "Golden Twenties" was still strong in 1924 and in 1928. Al Smith received little more than a cold shoulder in his brief campaign trip into the state, which was discontinued before completed. The "Sidewalks of New York" found few echoes from the mountains of Montana. The Republicans held control of the state legislature through-

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out all of this period, to 1933, by strong majorities, but were able to elect only one governor, Joseph M. Dixon, who held office for one term, 1921-25. It was at this time that Montana made her nearest approach to radicalism. Non-partisan league organizers, chiefly from North Dakota, invaded the state and gained many enlistments among the farmers. Dry weather was prevailing and crops were poor. There was a general feeling of protest and discontent in rural circles. Many thought that they saw in the proposals of the Non-partisan League the answer to their problems. In the neighboring state, it seemed that a farmer's Utopia was at last in sight, hence the "bandwagon" had many passengers.

Following their usual lines of political strategy, the Non-partisan leaders moved to secure control of what seemed to be the dominant political party of Montana. There had been a long succession of Democrat governors, hence, why not another? They nominated as their candidate a prominent and rising young lawyer who had served one term as United States district attorney in the days of President Wilson, Burton K. Wheeler. He proved to be a great campaigner, but the conservative influences of the state rallied to Dixon, who had served with distinction in Congress and was widely known and respected. When the votes were counted, Dixon had a safe majority and many Montana citizens rendered thankful prayers that they had been saved from the socialistic trend of the Non-partisan League.

Since the end of Dixon's term, January 6, 1925, all of Montana's governors have been Democrats, though the legislatures of 1925, 1927, 1929, and 1931 were all controlled by the Republicans. In Congress, the state delegation was divided. Scott Leavitt, a Republican from the second district, served through the period of five Congresses, 1923-33. Both senators were Democrats, Thomas H. Walsh serving from 1913 until his sudden death in 1933, and Burton K. Wheeler from his first election in 1923 to the present time.

A singular chapter of political history is connected with the passing of Senator Walsh, that reflects the great change in the attitudes of Montana people toward political manipu-

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lation as the state has grown and developed its own body of ideals and traditions. John E. Erickson, a Democrat, was governor at that time, and in the early months of his third term. Great was the surprise when the announcement was made that he had resigned the governorship, and that the lieutenant-governor, Frank H. Cooney, who automatically became governor, had appointed him to the vacancy created by the death of Senator Walsh. He was duly seated, on March 14, 1933, and served out the remainder of Senator Walsh's term, until January 3, 1935. When he campaigned for re-election to succeed himself in 1934, he was easily beaten by an other Democrat, but a novice in politics, James K. Murray, who began a six-year term as Montana's junior senator on January 4, 1935, and is still serving in that capacity.

THE COMING OF THE NEW DEAL

As was the case in many other states, the political picture in Montana was radically altered by the election of 1932. While the impact of the depression years had not been as severe in Montana as in some other states, there was a general feeling of economic and social unrest. Weather conditions had been adverse for a number of years and, in the upland sections of the state, crops were scanty or non-existent. Range conditions were bad and many cattle and sheep raisers had been forced to sell off much of their best stock at a loss. The price of copper was low. There had been a number of bank failures. Marginal land was being abandoned and population was concentrating in the urban centers. Only in the irrigated valleys were there any hopeful prospects. A New Deal, especially for agriculture, was very much needed.

Hence, Montana gave her electoral vote to Roosevelt, the popular vote being: Democratic, 127,286; Republican, 78,078; Socialists, 7,891. All of the Democratic state ticket, except state superintendent of public instruction, was carried along, and two Democrat congressmen were elected to replace the Republican incumbents. The two congressmen,

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Roy E. Ayers and Joseph P. Monaghan, were both new to state politics. Both senators were Democrats and hold-overs who were not affected by the New Deal. However, when Senator Wheeler came up in the election of 1934, for a third term he was strongly endorsed as a helpful liberal by a vote of 142,828, to 58,519 for Borquin, his Republican opponent.

Thus Montana became once again a predominantly Democratic community. The landslide continued in 1936. The popular vote on president and governor was the largest ever polled, Roosevelt receiving a total of 159,690 to 63,598, the Republican percentage being over 28, against a percentage of 38 plus, in 1932. A Democrat senator, James R. Murray, was elected by better than a two to one majority over his Republican opponent. The real fight of the Republicans was made on the office of governor, and the Democratic candidate, Roy E. Ayres, won over his Republican opponent, Frank M. Hazelbaker, by the close vote of 115,310 to 108,914. Home and national politics belong in different categories in Montana.

Numerous attempts have been made to analyze these votes of 1932 and 1936 and to assign reasons for them. The statement has been made that the rather large fraction of the population on relief and on public works created the difference. If so, they did it of their own volition, for there is no evidence to support any statement that coercion was a factor in the election. The Democrats have used their power with good judgment and with a keen eye to the public interest. Generous allotments for P. W. A. activities have been distributed to all parts of the state with no sign of partisanship. Billings, the state's third city in size and the county seat of Yellowstone county, the most consistently Republican county in the state since the early days of statehood, has shared richly in all the several forms of aids and grants that have been distributed under New Deal auspices, as should be the case in one of the state's largest concentrations of population. Similar situations may be cited elsewhere in the state. If Montana continues as a Democrat state in 1940, and

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in years to follow, it will be because Montana people wish to have it that way, and not because of the distribution of largess, or through any other form of political coercion.

Rather, it would seem that the present-day loyalty of the great majority of Montana citizens to New Deal policies, and their probable continuance in the same attitude for some time to come, grows out of the fact that many of these social and economic innovations are fairly hand-tailored to fit Montana conditions. A broad policy of irrigation and water conservation appeals to a people who live along the source streams of two great river systems, where the climate is semi-arid. The lesson of the recent depression years, when the Yellowstone valley was the whitest spot on the survey maps of the nation's business, has not been lost. During the year of 1939, a total of 300,000 acres has been added to the irrigable area of the state, and water conservation for the use of stock has been greatly improved. The evacuation of marginal areas, their transformation into controlled grazing districts under the Taylor Grazing Act, and resettlement on irrigated land, are moves that make a strong appeal to a practical-minded frontier people.

Montana is a natural vacation country, and the aggressive highway improvement policy of recent years has been very helpful to the tourist business. Set in motion largely as a means of reducing unemployment and shortening relief rolls, the policy has more than justified itself with permanent improvements of great merit. Result: the New Deal benefits will not be soon forgotten.

Social security legislation was a part of the Montana picture before 1933, but the problem was too big for a thinly-populated and over-burdened state. The New Deal tackled the problem with alacrity and a special department of the state government was at once created, with local machinery for each county. In both principle and method, social security is now well established and going strong. Teachers of the state are rejoicing over the fact that their own retirement annuity system, which had failed of enactment because

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of general social resistance, was carried through easily on this wave of social security enthusiasm.

LOOKING BACKWARD

Looking backward at the state's colorful party politics, a number of facts are outstanding. One is that Montana has never had a real party boss or closely organized political ring. Outstanding leaders have prevailed for limited periods, but social, economic, and population change has made these periods very brief. Another outstanding fact is the superior timber that has been available for high office. Even in early mining days, many men of superior education and talents came west in search of opportunity and soon rose to places of dignity and responsibility through the avenue of politics.

A large number of these were lawyers of great ability. Notable was Wilbur F. Sanders, one of Montana's first United States senators, who was known at home and outside of the state as lawyer, orator, and courageous statesman. Joseph M. Dixon, representative, senator, and governor, was the able campaign manager of the Progressive Republican movement in the days when the Bull Moose was in his prime. Miles Poindexter, of Montana, has been for a number of years the able and respected governor of Hawaii. M. L. Wilson is the right-hand man to Secretary of Agriculture, Henry Wallace. Thomas A. Walsh, one of the ablest constitutional lawyers in the United States Senate, was slated for the place of attorney general in President Roosevelt's cabinet at the time of his sudden death. Montana's senior senator, Burton K. Wheeler, has risen to national prominence because of his vigorous and liberal attitudes on controversial issues. Other names might be added, but space forbids. No other state with so small and sparse a population has produced more notable political leaders.

Another fact of more than passing importance is that Montana politics have always been more personal than partisan. The famous Clark-Daly feud really had its roots in personal antipathies. The long hold of Martin Maginnis on the office of territorial delegate had its explanation in the

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fact that he was a genial Irishman, beloved by many. Walsh, had he lived and so desired, could have continued in the Senate indefinitely because of the genuine respect that he commanded in the people. Many of the men who rose to high office were from the band of pioneers who laid the foundations of the social order in territory and state. Their associates were glad thus to honor them and round out their careers. This spirit of neighborliness has been a mighty force in this state, great in physical extent and possibilities, but with little over a half-million of people, where close acquaintance and the close scrutiny of public and private life is a necessary and expected part of daily living.

Chapter VII

NEW MEXICO: AN AREA OF CONFLICTING CULTURES

By THOMAS C. DONNELLY



The vote of a free people in an election is a representative expression of their myriad hopes and antipathies. Why people vote as they do is the result of the kind of environment in which they live, the way they make their living, their racial inheritance, their traditional party allegiances, their educational attainments, their religious affiliations, their leadership, and what John Stuart Mill once called their "temperament." To understand the political life of a people in a given state, account must be taken of all these things, and many others besides. In this analysis of the politics of the state of New Mexico, the attempt will be made to give each of these various factors brief consideration, and to attribute to them the importance they seem to merit.

Politics is not played under a roof in New Mexico, or anywhere else for that matter. Therefore, it is only proper that an understanding of the geographical, economic, and human setting of the state should precede a discussion of the elements in the contemporary political scene.

THE GEOGRAPHICAL ENVIRONMENT

Geographically, New Mexico occupies the southern portion of the Rocky Mountain highland. The outstanding impression one gets from travelling over the area is that it is a region of vast territorial expanses and sparse population. High, treeless plateaus, or mesas, fringed by steep, rocky

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mountains, and broken here and there with arroyos, river valleys, and canyons, are typical of the general landscape. Of desert, in the strictest physiographic sense, there is little; and yet of arid land, which, by comparison with the humid East, appears desert, there is very much. The bright sunshine and rarified air, common to the whole area, make it possible to see objects for miles; and oftentimes as one suddenly attains a geographical eminence, the vista is breath-taking in its illimitability.

The whole northern part of the state is generally mountainous, with the loftier peaks rising to elevations of twelve and thirteen thousand feet. The slope is toward the south and east. The Pecos river valley in the southeast is the only part of the state less than three thousand feet in altitude. Eighty-five per cent of the area lies at an altitude of more than four thousand feet, and much of that at an altitude of more than five and six thousand feet.

In land area, New Mexico ranks fourth among the states of the United States. It has an area of 122,503 square miles and extends 375 miles south from Colorado to the Mexican border and 350 miles west from Texas to the Arizona line. It is considerably larger than all of New England and New York.

Approximately 60 per cent of the land area of the state is owned by the national and state governments and is not subject to taxation.¹ The 40 per cent owned privately is,

1. *New Mexico Tax Bulletin*, Santa Fe, pp. 84-85, June, 1939.

There is some opposition among certain large ranchers to the policy of the federal government extending its landholdings in the state. The group in opposition, although it probably represents less than 10 per cent of the population, is well organized, very articulate, and has an influence out of proportion to its numbers.

Loans and outright expenditures of the federal government in New Mexico during the 1939 fiscal year which ended June 30, amounted to \$48,378,422, according to S. A. Spear, state director for Arizona and New Mexico for the office of government reports, December 30, 1939.

Loans totaled \$9,563,614, and grants-in-aid and other expenditures, \$38,814,808. In addition, the Federal Housing Administration insured \$2,315,161 worth of housing improvement notes and mortgages in the state. The largest amount of loans was by the Farm Credit Administration. The greatest amount of direct expenditures was disbursed by the Works Projects Administration.

Loans were made to businesses, farmers, home owners, and to individuals whose property or holdings were damaged by such catastrophes as floods or fires. Grants-in-aid were made to the aged, the blind, dependent children, farmers, and for the



of course, the more valuable part. The public domain is managed by several federal agencies and the state land commission. The income derived from federal land is partly devoted to state uses. Receipts from federal mineral leases, for example, are returned to the state treasury for the purpose of providing free textbooks for the public schools. Income earned by state-owned land is used chiefly

construction of public roads and buildings. Relief was extended to able-bodied men and women employed on WPA projects, to young men enrolled in the Civilian Conservation Corps, and by the distribution of surplus commodities through the state relief agency. This total also includes pensions paid to war veterans. See *Albuquerque Tribune*, December 30, 1939.

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to support the university, colleges, and welfare institutions. Thus, the state is not the loser under the arrangement. In fact, the state profits considerably from federal ownership for the managing agencies have invested millions and are continuing to do so in developing the public domain for wise social use. In private hands, the public domain owned by the national and state governments would yield little in taxes. The assessed valuation of the land in the state in private hands was \$310,266,984 in 1937.² Its true and actual value is, to be sure, much more than this figure.

Five rivers figure conspicuously in the life of New Mexico : the Rio Grande, which runs the full length of the state from north to south ; the Pecos, which rises in the northern mountains of the state and runs slightly southeastwardly, dividing the mountains from the plains ; the San Juan, which cuts across the northwestern corner of the state and plays a minor role to the Pecos and Rio Grande ; the Canadian, in the northeastern counties, and the Gila, in the southwestern section. The last two named are of minor importance. The lands adjacent to these rivers support the majority of the population.

Although New Mexico lies fairly well to the south, the climate is not a tropical one, on account of the high altitudes. In a general way, it can be kept in mind that the lower valleys are dry (the precipitation averaging from six to ten inches annually). Agriculture is precarious without irrigation in such districts. The mountain areas, of which there are many, have much greater precipitation than the lowlands and valleys, and are the great natural reservoirs, or storehouses, of rain and snow, from which flow the streams that afford irrigation for the valleys. Precipitation increases rapidly with altitude, amounting to eighteen, twenty, twenty-five, or even thirty inches annually over the highest peaks. In the northern mountains, especially, heavy snows and long winters occur. Most of the rain, over the whole area of the state, falls from April 1 to September 30. The Rio Grande valley, for example, has an average annual

2. *Ibid.*, p. 190, Dec., 1937.

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precipitation of less than eight inches, approximately five inches of which fall in the rainy season.³ The eastern counties, such as Lea, Roosevelt, Curry, Quay, Union, Colfax, Harding, Mora, San Miguel, Guadalupe, and De Baca, are the best dry-farming counties.

Other common characteristics of the climate of the state are bright sunshiny days, clear dry air, cool nights, low humidity, much wind, and a stimulating mean annual temperature. The maximum temperature in the summer is slightly above 100 degrees, and the minimum in the winter a few degrees below zero for brief periods. The range in temperature from noon to midnight is also considerable. The general climate, therefore, is not a languid one, as is sometimes believed, but one that is varied and energizing.

THE ECONOMIC BACKGROUND

Livestock production is New Mexico's most important productive industry. Because of the vast area that is unfit for crop production as a result of inadequate rainfall, topography of the land, or adverse soil conditions, approximately 98 per cent of New Mexico's 78,000,000 acres might be classified as grazing land; and much of it very poor grazing land at that.⁴

Cattle were first introduced into New Mexico by the Spaniards in the early sixteenth century, but were not improved and were of no importance commercially until after 1850. Since that time, New Mexico has risen to a place among the most important range-cattle producing states in the Union. Cattle shipments from the state in each of the past twenty-five years have numbered from 300,000 to 800,000 head. It is estimated that the number of cattle now grazing the ranges is about 2,500,000.⁵

While cattle raising has been increasing in importance,

3. *Climate as It Affects Crops and Ranges in New Mexico*, Bulletin 182, 1930. Agricultural Experiment Station, Las Cruces, New Mexico.

By dry-farming is meant farming carried on in semi-arid, non-irrigated areas with a low annual rainfall.

4. *A Preliminary Study of 127 New Mexico Ranches in 1925*, Bulletin 159, p. 7. Agricultural Experiment Station.

5. *New Mexico Tax Bulletin*, p. 86, June, 1939.

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sheep raising has been gradually declining in New Mexico since 1900. The total number of sheep in the state in 1912 was estimated to be between four and five million, while today the number is considerably less than two million,⁶ representing a decline of more than 50 per cent. New Mexico, however, still ranks seventh or eighth in sheep production among the states. Currently, about 600,000 sheep and lambs are shipped to markets outside the state each year.⁷

Sheep raising was the first love of the early Spanish settlers, and society in the area early tended to divide itself into those who owned sheep and those who herded sheep. One man, the Spanish Governor Bartolome Baca, had, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, two million head of sheep, and kept 2,700 men in the field with them, in addition to maintaining hundreds of the dependents of those who worked with the flocks. "El Guero" Chavez, first governor of New Mexico under the Mexican Republic, had a million sheep. Three-fourths of the sheep owned in New Mexico as late as 1800 were owned by some twenty families, four-fifths of whom were Spanish-American.⁸ "The social effects of a system of economy wherein four-fifths of the white male population were employees of a handful of landlords have," as Russell explains, "left their stamp on present-day New Mexico."⁹

Receipts from sheep ranching decreased over 50 per cent during 1930 and 1931¹⁰ and large numbers of employees of these ranches were forced to seek relief. The local Democratic leaders thus supplanted the owners of the sheep ranches, the majority of whom were Republicans, as an influence over these people. This fact partly accounts for the

6. *Ibid.*

7. Figures from the Office of the Sheep Sanitary Board.

8. Coan, C. F., *Shorter History of New Mexico*, Vol. I, p. 890.

9. Russell, John, *State Regionalism in New Mexico*, p. 5, 1938.

10. *Economics of Sheep Production in Western New Mexico*, pp. 45-9. Bulletin 204, 1932. Agricultural Experiment Station.

In the past, in addition to those employees engaged on a full-time basis on the ranches, many small farmers and others, to supplement their cash income, worked part-time for the larger operators and came, somewhat, under their influence. Government work since the depression has been the source of much of the part-time work for the small farmers and this has had some effect on the voting habits.

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shift of certain counties to the Democratic party in recent elections. Reduction of the relief expenditures in these counties, and the return of the relief workers to private employment will undoubtedly tend to revive, somewhat, former voting habits.

Observation leads one to the conclusion that the employees of both cattle and sheep ranches tend to vote, for various reasons, the way the owners and managers vote. Local politicians in ranching counties eagerly solicit the support of the owners of the larger ranches, particularly, and many of the proprietors are prominent political leaders themselves. Since the ranch vote represents a sizeable bloc, owners of ranches constitute an important political group.

Large unit sheep and cattle ranches, organized as corporations, are tending to supplant smaller private holdings because they operate more successfully. Absentee ownership of these larger units is on the increase. Both of these developments will undoubtedly produce important political effects as time goes on.

Agriculture ranks next to livestock production in the industries of the state. A large variety of crops can be raised, and practically all of the temperate zone crops and fruits are now being grown. For centuries, before the time of American control over the area, irrigated farming was practiced by the Indians and Spaniards along the Rio Grande and its tributaries with creditable results. The years since statehood have seen a rapid development in this type of farming due to the water conservation program sponsored by the federal government. Today, over half a million acres are included in the various irrigation projects.¹¹ One of the country's most remarkable artesian basins is located south of Roswell, on the west bank of the Pecos, and supports one of the best farming areas of the state.

Practically all the farming not carried on under irrigation is being done by dry farming methods. Dry farming is practiced chiefly in the high plains section of the eastern half of the state, under a normal season precipitation varying

^{11.} *Fifteenth Census of the United States on Irrigated Lands, 1930.*

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from approximately eight to twenty inches. Drouths are quite common to this section, and farmers have learned from experience that the holding of a feed crop for their livestock until they are sure of another is good practice. Soil blowing during the early spring months is a serious factor in this section, particularly in the northeastern counties. Dry farming was not practiced to any extent in the area until after 1900. After the coming of the railroad facilities, development was rapid, and at present the value of the region as an agriculture area is well established.¹² Homesteading was a common method of securing title to land. The present governor of New Mexico, John E. Miles, was one of those who moved into this area in the early part of the century and filed upon a homestead.

A five-year economic study of 125 farms, representative of those found in the greater portion of eastern New Mexico, revealed that the average annual farm income per family for living and saving was \$1,157. The period covered was from 1924 through 1929. Since then farm income has dropped and farm tenancy is on the increase, jumping 131 per cent in the decade from 1920 to 1930.¹³

Another study, conducted by the Agricultural Experiment Station of the New Mexico Agriculture College, of farming practices in the Middle Rio Grande Conservancy District, in the years 1929, 1930, and 1931, reveals some interesting figures on farm income in an area dominated chiefly by Spanish-American farmers. On the general farms studied, the average net income was \$117 a year for the three years. On the specialized type of farms the average net income was \$340 a year on poultry farms, \$742 on fruit farms, \$1,256 on vegetable farms, and \$2,570 on dairy farms. The net income represents the combined average return on capital invested and the labor and management of the operation.¹⁴ In this area also farm income has dropped

12. *A Five Year Economic Study of 125 Farms in Curry and Roosevelt Counties, New Mexico*, p. 6, Bulletin 186, 1930. Agricultural Experiment Station.

13. *Ibid.*, p. 4.

14. *Farm Organization Practices and Costs of Producing Crops in the Middle Rio Grande Conservancy District*, p. 3. Bulletin 215, 1933. Agricultural Experiment Station.

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greatly since the period studied, and the Conservancy District is in a state near bankruptcy, due to the inability of the farmers to pay assessments on their irrigation improvements. The Reconstruction Finance Corporation holds the bonds of the district and only the cancellation of the debt can save the majority of the small farmers, most of whom are Spanish-American, from being dispossessed. It is to be noted that this area represents one of the better farming districts and has, in Albuquerque, the largest market in the state. While the farmers in select areas are in better circumstances, the farmers in certain other regions of the state receive much less in annual returns. Unpublished studies reveal that annual cash incomes of less than \$100 per family in the lower income regions are not unknown.

Throughout the years since 1930, farm organizations in the state have made sporadic attempts to correct, through political action, their economic difficulties. Both the federal and state governments responded in various ways with remedial measures, most of which were definitely helpful—the Agriculture Adjustment and Soil Conservation Acts of the national government, and the tax limitation and tax moratorium acts of the state government belong in this category. Some well-intentioned efforts proved definite failures, chief among them being rural resettlement. There are indications at the present time of a mild upward trend in the fortunes of the farmers of the state, but permanent improvement must await fundamental changes in the nature of local agricultural units, most of which are much too small or the land too arid to ever yield a satisfactory income. Most of the smaller, uneconomic units, ranging from three acres to fifty acres, are owned by Spanish-Americans and are, for the most part, located in the Rio Grande valley. Because of the custom of many of these people of dividing their landed property equally among their children, the farms tend to be broken up into smaller and smaller units. The Anglo farmer has larger farms or ranches and raises cattle or sheep or grain and cotton on a large scale.

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New Mexico is rich in mineral resources. Although these resources are not exploited to their full capacity, the extraction of minerals is the outstanding form of industrial enterprise in New Mexico, next to livestock production and agriculture. Coal, petroleum, gas, copper, zinc, lead, gold, silver, dry-ice, gypsum, potash, and salt are the chief products.

The oil industry in Eddy and Lea counties, the coal industry in Colfax, McKinley, and Santa Fe counties, and the copper and zinc industries in Grant county are particularly important as sources of income and employment to the state and the people. Copper and coal have long been produced in the state, but the oil development is quite recent and is responsible for the influx of population into the southeastern section. Hobbs, the center of the oil fields, has jumped in the last few years to be the second city in the state in population.

Oil, copper, and coal interests are politically, as well as economically, important in the state. Labor, in the counties in which these and other mineral interests are located, is weak and not sufficiently organized to be able to play as important a part politically as does management.

New Mexico, being essentially a raw-material producing area that ships its products to other states for processing, ranks low among the states in manufacturing. The manufacture of lumber and timber products stands alone as the only manufacturing industry of importance in the state. During normal times, approximately two thousand persons are furnished complete or part-time employment in woods operations and mills.¹⁵ The total number of wage earners in the state in 1929, in all classes of business listed as manufacturing, was only 4,476.¹⁶ Taken as a whole, manufacturing in New Mexico, aside from lumber milling, is chiefly small-scale enterprising in products which, by their nature, cannot be shipped economically from other states.

Transportation ranks high in economic importance in

15. *Preliminary Report, New Mexico State Planning Board*, pp. 83-8.

16. *Fifteenth Census of the United States on Manufactures*, 1930.

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New Mexico. The state is covered with a vast network of airlines, railroads, and highways, the operation and maintenance of which give much employment and income to the people. There are more than three thousand miles of railroads in New Mexico, of which more than half belongs to the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe railroad. The Southern Pacific and Rock Island lines are next in importance. Some eight thousand people depend on these companies for employment. New Mexico's share in air transportation is due mainly to the fact that transcontinental lines run through the state, and an independent line connects Denver and El Paso via Albuquerque. The highway system of the state, thanks to a generous federal aid subsidy, has developed rapidly in the past twenty years. At the present time, over half of the twelve thousand miles of roads in the state are under full-time maintenance. During the past five years, from ten to twelve million dollars each year has been devoted to highway improvements.¹⁷ A thriving bus and truck system, transporting passengers and goods, has been built upon these highways.

One of the greatest advantages of the excellent transportation system to New Mexico is that it has opened to tourists the natural attractions of the state. During the year 1937, according to the State Tourist Bureau, approximately 1,371,000 out-of-state motor vehicles, bearing 3,672,000 persons, entered the state. The tourists came from every state in the Union and seventy-one foreign countries, and they spent an estimated \$80,000,000 in New Mexico.¹⁸ Hotels, tourist camps, restaurants, and a large group of small entrepreneurs profit handsomely from this trade. Many people in the state refer to the tourist trade as the state's leading industry, and, in terms of cash income, the viewpoint is justifiable. Strictly speaking, however, the tourist "industry" must be understood to be a large number of small businesses catering to the tourists' needs. From a political

17. *Biennial Report of the State Highway Engineer*, p. 22, 1937-38.

18. Bursey, J. A., "New Mexico State Tourist Bureau," *Biennial Report of the State Highway Engineer* (1937-38), p. 106.

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standpoint, the significance of the tourist trade to New Mexico is to be found in the fact that, by bringing revenue to small businesses, it helps maintain the economic basis of a small free-holder group, traditionally aligned with the development of the spirit of democracy.

Last, but not least, of the principal sources of income to the state are the health-seekers, who are attracted by the mild, dry climate of the area. Hundreds come each year, in every means of conveyance from trailers to airplanes, poor and rich alike. Most of them are sufferers from tuberculosis. Some die and others recover and return to their former residences, but many, after regaining their strength, remain to make permanent homes. Every region of the state boasts of prominent men and women who, figuratively, and many times actually, "came on a stretcher." Most notable, perhaps, of this group who found both strength and fame in New Mexico was the late United States senator, Bronson Cutting, who for twenty years played a conspicuous part in the political life of the state. Hospitals, sanitoriums, health retreats, and the medical profession have received much of their income from the migratory health-seekers and the whole business community is stimulated by their imported buying power. The attitude of the health-seekers, which is that of being content over merely being alive, has flavored the mental outlook of the whole population and probably accounts in no small degree for the charming, non-industrious temperament, characteristic of Anglo and Spanish-American alike in New Mexico.

It can be seen from this brief survey of the geography and industries of New Mexico that the farmer, rancher, and individual enterpriser, in conjunction with the few industrial and transportation interests, are the dominant economic influences in the politics of the state. Labor is largely unorganized and is politically weak. The sparsity of population and the large portion engaged in agriculture, ranching, and small-scale businesses contribute to this end. The cultural issue, rising from the composition of the population, compli-

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cates considerably the political scene and calls for special attention.

THE PEOPLE

Although New Mexico is the fourth largest state in the United States in area, it has one of the smallest populations, ranking forty-fourth. The population per square mile, according to the 1930 census, was only 3.5 persons, while that of the entire United States was 41.3. Nevada and Wyoming are the only states less densely populated. States with less total population than New Mexico are Nevada, Wyoming, Delaware, and Vermont.

The total population of the state in 1930 was 423,317, and of this number 28,940 were Indians, who do not vote. The population of voting age in 1930 was 216,956. Since the total vote in the 1936 election in New Mexico was 173,803, it can be seen that only 20 per cent, approximately, of the eligible voters failed to participate in the election; an excellent record in voter's attendance at the polls. It is doubtful if any state can boast of greater participation by voters in elections than can New Mexico.¹⁹ Politics is a major interest in the state and the problem of non-voting is not of importance. In fact, so great is the general interest in elections, the absence of qualified voters at the polls is less a cause of concern than the presence of non-eligibles.

New Mexico is, of course, predominantly a rural state, with approximately 75 per cent of the population living outside urban areas. There are only four cities with a population of more than ten thousand—Albuquerque, Hobbs, Santa Fe, and Roswell. The number of incorporated municipalities is about sixty. In addition, there are some three hundred smaller communities with village characteristics that are unincorporated.²⁰

A survey made by the Democratic state central com-

19. A careful study of the participation of the voters in twenty-one typical northern states at the 1920 presidential election showed that 56.8 per cent of the adult citizens voted. Rice, S. A., *Quantitative Methods in Politics*, pp. 243-7. Also see Peel, R. V., and Donnelly, T. C., *The 1928 Campaign*, p. 9.

20. Behringer, F. D., *New Mexico Municipalities and County Consolidation in New Mexico*, pp. 8-4.

mittee in 1933, for its own use, revealed that about 42 per cent of the population was Spanish-American; and the balance, about 58 per cent, was Anglo.²¹

"Spanish-American" is used to denote that group of individuals who are descendants of the original Spanish colonists. Many people living in the state call them "Mexicans," but this designation is not correct, for a Mexican is an immigrant from Mexico, whereas the Spanish-Americans have lived in New Mexico for many generations. Sometimes, instead of being called Spanish-Americans, they are designated as "natives." Political leaders never publicly address the native population as "Mexicans" for the appellation is resented. The word "Anglo" is used to designate all people in New Mexico of other than Spanish, Mexican, or Indian descent. The Indian population, not of importance politically since it is denied the franchise, consists mainly of Pueblos, Apaches, and Navajos.

Most of the people living in New Mexico prior to American occupation were Spanish-Americans, many of whom had intermarried with the Indian tribes since there was a scarcity of Spanish women in the area in the earlier times. The descendants of this group, while continuing to multiply at a rapid rate, have steadily lost ground numerically to the Anglos. A population study recently completed reveals that in the period between 1850 and 1930 the native population of the state increased 153 per cent while the Anglo population of the state increased 3,953 per cent.²² The excessive increase in Anglo population over that of the native is due to interstate migration, whereas the native population has increased almost exclusively by natural means.

Early Spanish settlers in New Mexico went up the Rio Grande valley and branched off along the little water courses which flowed into the Rio Grande. The most thickly settled area was the Rio Arriba (upper Rio Grande water-

21. Russell, *op. cit.*, p. 67.

22. "Population of the Upper Rio Grande Watershed," *Conservation Economic Series No. 16*, July, 1937.

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shed area). This region is still the home of the majority of the Spanish-Americans of the state.

Were the Spanish-Americans scattered equally among the various counties of the state, they would long ago have ceased to be of the importance politically that they are today. However, since they are settled in a compact region—the Rio Grande valley—they either dominate the counties therein, or are of sufficient importance numerically to be a bloc with which to reckon.

Another factor, in addition to this numerical dominance of the Rio Grande area, that makes the Spanish-Americans politically important, is that they are a homogeneous, genetic aggregation. "This means," as Russell points out, "that the people are alike physically and in behavior. Born in the same region, they came from parents alike in race, and in physical type. Although there has been considerable inter-marriage with the Indian tribes, at present the descendants seem to have taken on characteristics which differentiate them from the Indians. They [Spanish-Americans] learn the same language and have similar cultural forms. Thus, they think alike, talk alike, differing only as individuals, but more alike in their social behavior than different. They are race conscious and possess a distinctive historical and traditional background."²³

The Spanish-Americans are, for the most part, small farmers, ranch workers, and laborers. Only a small minority* of them will be found in the professions, business, and ranching operations. Most of them are quite poor—"disinherited in the land of their fathers,"²⁴ as Calvin says. The counties they inhabit are generally the less valuable areas of the state, and are surpassed by the Anglo counties in the production of wealth, in the amount of taxes paid, and, conse-

23. Russell, *op. cit.*, p. 46.

*This minority includes, however, some of the most able, charming, progressive, and distinguished leaders of the state. With better economic opportunities, the Spanish-American people would come to occupy an increasingly large number of high places in the state. They are a people of much ability, and are among the most kindly, humane, and generous people of the world.

24. Calvin, Ross, *Sky Determines*, p. 6.

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quently, in the extent and character of governmental services.²⁵

The Spanish-American takes readily and with enthusiasm to political activity and seems to derive intense enjoyment from the drama of political campaigns. This fact, plus the additional one that Anglo settlers have tended not to settle in the native counties, will undoubtedly contribute to the Spanish-Americans maintaining control for years to come over the regions they now dominate.

The developing awareness on the part of the Anglo of the intrinsic values of the native culture presages more considerate treatment, politically and otherwise, of the Spanish-Americans in future years. Many Anglos in the state who were once inclined to approve, quite thoughtlessly, of the gradual dispossession of the natives now realize that their well-mellowed culture adds to the standardized American life a quaintness and charm of inestimable value. Credit for the institution of this new deal, in appreciation of the native, belongs to no one else so much as to the late Senator Cutting, a sincere friend of the native people. Since his lifetime, the values of cultural pluralism to New Mexico have been much better understood.

Although the Spanish-American population is numerically superior to the Anglos in the Rio Grande valley watershed, the Anglo population is dominant in the whole eastern block of counties, and in the three counties in the southwestern corner of the state. Bernalillo county, on the Rio Grande, is now divided as far as population is concerned, because Anglos have been attracted there by the advantages offered by Albuquerque, the state's largest city. McKinley and San Juan counties, in the northwestern section, form another region, since more than 60 per cent of their population is Indian.²⁶ Thus it can be seen that the population of the state tends to divide itself into distinct regions, a factor

25. Russell, *op. cit.*, pp. 226-249.

26. There is some sentiment on the part of the Indian population favorable to obtaining the right to vote. If this sentiment should come to prevail, the Indian group would constitute a sizeable bloc in the state. The immediate prospects for their gaining the franchise is not great, however.

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of no little importance in a consideration of things political in New Mexico.

It is interesting to note the locale from which most of the Anglo settlers in New Mexico came. Until 1900, they came principally from Texas, Colorado, Kansas, Missouri, Illinois, Ohio, Pennsylvania, and New York. Since then, however, the number residing in New Mexico who were born in states directly to the east has increased more rapidly than has the number born in states to the northeast. The number born in Missouri but living in New Mexico decreased greatly from 1910 to 1920. Evidently the earlier trek from Missouri to New Mexico slackened for several years, but an increasing movement during the decade ending in 1930 overcame the former decrease. Texas has contributed more native-born whites to New Mexico, from 1890 on, than any other state.²⁷

Although no reliable data are now available on inter-state migration into New Mexico since 1930, observers familiar with all sections of the state note that it has been large; perhaps the 50,000 estimate often made is not a gross exaggeration. Anglo numerical superiority in relation to the native population thus continues to increase. This widening of the ratio between the two population groups will undoubtedly make itself felt more and more in the politics of the future.

In New Mexico, there are many Gods, as Fergusson has pointed out.²⁸ Each Indian tribe has its own native pantheon in which Christ is only one among the galaxy, and the Penitent Brothers, a minority sect, have their own peculiar rites. The Church of Rome is the church of most of the Spanish-Americans. Although Protestants did not arrive on the scene in any appreciable numbers until after American occupation, today every Protestant sect has both its churches and its missions. Worship is undeniably free, tolerance prevails, and "the many Gods now live at peace along the Rio

27. Russell, *op. cit.*, p. 53.

28. Fergusson, Harvey, *Rio Grande*, p. 211.

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Grande.”²⁹ Even the Ku Klux Klan was never able to stir up much feeling in the area.

In 1930, the census revealed that approximately half of the total population, exclusive of the Indians, were members of some church. Of this number, 82 per cent were Catholics, 16 per cent Protestants, chiefly Baptists, Methodists, and Presbyterians, and 1 per cent Mormons. The other 1 per cent were scattered among various minority sects.³⁰

Spires of the Church of Rome are to be seen in every native community and attendance at mass is a customarily observed feature of the weekly schedule of communicants, but one gains the impression, after living in the state, that Protestants attend their churches irregularly and somewhat perfunctorily. The Protestant church, it would seem, is not the affirmative influence in the lives of its members that the Catholic church is in New Mexico. Religiously, and otherwise, the *padre* has a hold on his communicants that the Protestant minister cannot approach. Politicians pay their respect to this detail of the political scene by the gingerly manner in which they treat issues in which the papal hierarchy manifests an interest.

The general educational level of the population is low and illiteracy is high, 13.3 per cent in 1930.³¹ Only the states of South Carolina and Louisiana, both of which have large Negro populations, rank higher in percentage of illiteracy.

Conditions in New Mexico, it must be recognized, are not as favorable to educational progress as in most other states. The bi-lingual problem, the low economic level of a large percentage of the population, and the fact that a considerable portion of the people live in remote areas, leading a life somewhat primitive and of a nature to which formal education seems to offer little appeal or advantage, combine to make the educator's task a difficult one.

29. *Ibid.*, pp. 211-12.

30. *United States Census Reports on Religious Bodies*, 1930, Vol. II, p. 1254.

31. Seyfried, J. E., *Illiteracy Trends in New Mexico*, p. 7, University of New Mexico Bulletin, No. 240, 1934.

The above figure on illiteracy includes the Indian population. Excluding Indians, the per cent of illiteracy would be about 11. The 1940 census may show it is somewhat below the 1930 figure due to the educational efforts of the past ten years.

Considering the obstacles, the progress made in recent years is praiseworthy. While the illiteracy percentage is high by current standards, it is significant to remember that in 1870 it was much higher: 78.5 per cent.³² The state school system, headed by a progressive university and seven state colleges, and supported generously by the taxpayers, considering their means, is developing rapidly. Attendance in the public schools is now more than 150,000, and there are 109 students per 1,000 population enrolled in institutions of higher learning.³³ The state, apart from private agencies, spends \$22.74 per student for higher education, as compared with an average of \$12.67 for the United States as a whole.³⁴ Free textbooks for the elementary schools and the enlarged school building program, both coming in recent years, are typical of the improvements constantly being made.

The rising level of education is slowly but surely making itself felt in the field of political action. Independent voting is on the increase and politicians in opposite parties are beginning to vie with each other in advocating progressive policies for the state. In the campaign preceding the 1938 elections in the state, probably the most discussed issue was which of the two party platforms was the more "liberal."

Each of the larger cities of the state is served by one or two daily newspapers, and no county is without one weekly and most of them have two. The Albuquerque *Journal*, a Republican newspaper, and the Scripps-Howard Albuquerque *Tribune*, generally pro-Democratic in recent years, are the two dailies with the largest state circulation. The Santa Fe, Roswell, and Las Vegas papers, to mention only a few of the other dailies, and a considerable number of the weeklies rank importantly as opinion-influencing organs in the areas they serve. The Denver dailies have moderate circulations in the northern areas of the state, as do the El Paso journals in the southern part, and the Amarillo

32. Seyfried, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

33. *Statistics of Higher Education, 1935-36*. Bulletin No. 2 of the U. S. Office of Education, 1937.

34. *Ibid.*

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papers in the eastern section. The larger dailies of the state, and a more than average number of the smaller dailies and weeklies, are surprisingly moderate, if not independent, in their treatment of political issues from day to day and week to week. Most of them usually line up with one or another of the parties by election day, but in the interim between elections their partisanship is not noticeably emphasized. Newspapers in New Mexico are primarily businesses, it appears, and only secondarily political organs.

In state election campaigns, increasing use is being made of the radio to reach the voters. The larger towns have broadcasting stations with a local radius, and KOB and KGGM in Albuquerque can be heard throughout the state.

Brooks has pointed out the effectiveness of the direct personal appeal to the voter by candidates for office,³⁵ and in New Mexico where, because of the small population, this is feasible in campaigns, it is probably true that it is a more important determinant of the outcome of elections, than the newspapers, and even the radio, influential though they admittedly are. It is a rare campaign in New Mexico when the leading candidates do not appear before a majority of the voters and meet many of them personally.

PARTY ORGANIZATION AND VOTING HABITS

The most important single determinant of elections in New Mexico, since statehood to date, has been the influence exerted by the rival party organizations. The writer once made such a statement, in conversation, to a veteran of New Mexico politics, a man who had come to a high place in state affairs over the dusty road that led from the county court house, and he snapped back affirmatively: "Yes, that, and money." Persons in a position to know the relative strength and loyalty of the organizations of the two major parties, and who have been objective enough not to be victimized by their own wishful thinking, have usually been able to predict election results in the various counties and the state-at-large with uncanny accuracy.

35. Brooks, R. C., *Political Parties and Electoral Problems*, p. 383.

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Until 1938, New Mexico was one of only three states in the United States that had no primary law.³⁶ The fear of the Spanish-American cultural group that the primary would lessen their political influence, and the natural suspicion of the organization leaders of so direct a form of popular control, were the two prime reasons that, for so long, prevented the enactment of a primary law.

Under the convention system, state party organization, Democratic and Republican alike, was little more than a loose and shifting confederation of strong county organizations. Each of the county organizations was usually controlled by one man, or, perhaps, by a little coterie of active politicians. Striking a winning combination in the state nominating conventions was a matter of successful bargaining to gain the support of a majority of the leaders of the county organizations. Usually this end was achieved by a judicious distribution of places on the state ticket, and by covert promises of important appointive posts to leaders left off the ballot. Care was exercised that the Spanish-American group be represented, and to prevent the cultural issue from subsequently arising, the rival tickets of the major parties were neatly arranged in such a manner that Anglo ran against Anglo and a native competed with one of his group.

The convention which nominated the state-wide candidates also drafted the party platform. Invariably this was a task of secondary interest to the selection of nominees. Planks in the platform were lightly subscribed to by the delegates and airily ignored by the successful candidates whenever they chose.³⁷ Each candidate well knew that his selection depended on the favor of the organization leaders rather than on popular support.

In the national election years, conventions called in the state to select delegates to the national nominating conventions warily sought to determine the presidential candidate most likely to receive the nomination. If the national choice

36. Connecticut and Rhode Island were the other two states.

37. See Donnelly, T. C., and Swayne, Jas., "The Labor Record of Political Parties in New Mexico," *New Mexico Business Review*, October, 1936.

was an obvious one, instructed delegations were selected to add further to his support. If the choice was not determined by the time of the convening of the state conclave, an uninstructed delegation, vested with discretion to switch at the opportune moment, was named. Leaders of both parties in the conventions played the game calculatingly throughout, fearful of only one thing—being behind a losing candidate when the selection was resolved. The possible attitude of the electorate of the state toward rival aspirants for the presidential nomination was little considered.

State conventions could not be argued unrepresentative of the will of the people if the basis of selection of delegates to these conventions had been a democratic one. But this was not the case, even though a plausible theoretical argument could be advanced in support of the popular nature of the selection process. Precinct caucuses, or conventions, chose the delegates to the county conventions, and the county conventions, in turn, chose the delegates to the state conventions. Thus control of the organization work of the party rested ultimately in the precinct caucuses. These caucuses, while open to all voters, were usually held at a place and a time not well advertised, and popular participation in their proceedings, it was universally agreed, was almost nil. From the selection of the temporary chairman to the motion to adjourn every step in their deliberations was controlled by party organization henchmen assigned to the task by their county chairman. If a citizen, unconnected with the organization work, happened to venture into one of these caucuses he was considered a naive and unwelcome intruder. As a representative agency through which the people actually expressed their wishes on party matters the precinct caucus was a fraud.

Under such favorable circumstances the organization of each party grew strong and assumed the status of an important controlling interest in public affairs. After the nominations had been made and the campaign waged, the election results were usually found to have been determined more by the respective strength of the party organization,

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numerically and financially, in each of the counties than by any other factor.

There are no official figures indicative of the total amount of money expended by the major parties in elections. While the state has a corrupt practices act, it is so loosely drawn and permits so many exemptions, that the reports required of the parties and their candidates under it are meaningless. While care is used not to report an amount greater than the law allows, the act is otherwise honored only in the breach. Large sums, politicians admit in confidence, are spent in violation of the law.

The sources of campaign funds are the usual ones tapped in all other states. The Democratic party levies a regular monthly assessment of 2 per cent on the salaries of all political employees of the state to finance its activities, and special assessments in campaign years are sometimes levied in addition to the regular one. Contributions from large contractors doing business with the state also help, it is alleged, to swell the funds of the party in power. The Republican party, out of power in the state since 1930, has had to depend largely on the contributions of several of its wealthy adherents, of which it has a number in the millionaire class, and aid sent to it by the national committee. Contributions from the candidates and their friends also are an important source of campaign funds to both parties. The disposition, although not always indulged, to nominate men who could furnish the money to finance their campaign was strong under the convention system.

Students of political parties are familiar with the tendency of a party long in power to intra-party strife. Running true to form the Democratic party in New Mexico, in 1938, after eight consecutive years in office, had developed three strong, warring factions.³⁸ The bitter struggle of these factions for control of the party and the ill-feeling engendered, coupled with a strong public demand for a primary

38. Donnelly, T. C., "The New Mexico Special Election of 1937," *New Mexico Business Review*, July, 1938.

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law,³⁹ resulted in its enactment in 1938 in a special session of the legislature. In 1939, in the regular session of the legislature, a system of permanent registration was adopted to render the primary law more effective.⁴⁰

The possible effects, on the fortunes of the two parties and their organizations, of the enactment of the direct primary law is a subject of much speculation in the state at present, inasmuch as the first nominations under the law will not be made until September, 1940. Reform-minded citizens are hopeful that the primary will result in a more direct control of state and local governments, but it is likely that they will be disappointed. After the party organizations have once mastered the technique of controlling the primaries, New Mexico will probably recapitulate the experience of other primary states where the strongest party organization nominates its "slate" and elects them to office, four times out of five.

Officers of the party organization in each precinct, county, and in the state will continue to be chosen as in the past by the caucus and convention methods since the new law applies only to officers voted on in the general election. Likewise, delegates to the national nominating conventions will continue to be selected by state conventions.

The influence of "pressure groups," i.e., organized minorities, is seen in political parties, at elections, and on law-making in New Mexico, much the same as in other states. In the history of the state, party leadership at times has fallen under the control of one or more of these groups, and always they are influential because they represent organized bodies of voters more or less acutely sensitive to governmental action. Party leaders, in the making of party platforms and in devising campaign tactics and strategy, give these pressure groups much consideration. If a party

39. The New Mexico primary is the "closed" type. Only registered Republicans can vote in the Republican primary and registered Democrats in the Democratic primary.

40. Donnelly, T. C., "Features Essential to a Voter's Registration Law in New Mexico," Study No. 4, *Public Affairs Series of the Department of Government of the University of New Mexico*, 1938.

leader does not embrace the program of a militant minority he, as a rule, artfully endeavors not to record himself against it. The alternate embracing and dodging of the sponsors of the Townsend old age pension movement in recent years by candidates seeking to represent the state in Congress affords a convenient illustration of this pattern of behavior.

The more influential of the pressure groups, especially on legislation, are those representative of the important economic and social interests in the state. Among these are the Taxpayer's Association, supported chiefly by the mining and railroad interests, it is believed; the Cattle Grower's Association, representing the grazing industry; the chambers of commerce; and the various organizations championing the cause of the Spanish-Americans. The several organizations of veterans, when aroused to political action, are unusually effective, it seems, in getting what they want. Public utilities also appear to have considerable influence, inasmuch as the State Corporation Commission is as yet without authority to regulate their rates. Labor unions, farmer organizations, women's clubs, and the state teacher's association, while they carry some weight, are comparatively weak.

Contributions to the party organization's campaign fund, and a sizeable group of votes that can be "delivered" on election day, or both, are the bases of the power exerted by the pressure groups. Demands made by the groups having one or both of these attributes, even the uninitiated can observe, always receive consideration by platform committees, legislators, and executives. Groups that merely pass resolutions, and who make no tangible contributions to party success, tend to be politely ignored.

Next in importance to the influence of the party organization and associated minority groups, in determining the outcome of elections in New Mexico, are the traditional voting habits of the people.

From 1912, when New Mexico became a state, until 1930, the population was almost evenly divided in its voting habits. During this period each of the major parties won

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four gubernatorial contests. Woodrow Wilson received the electoral vote of the state in 1912 and 1916, but Harding, Coolidge, and Hoover, Republicans, won in 1920, 1924, and 1928, respectively. Results in contests involving the congressional delegation tended, generally, to duplicate those of the gubernatorial election. Throughout this period the strength of the Republican party was mainly in the Spanish-American counties.

Since 1930, a great swing toward the Democratic party has taken place, and the party has won five successive gubernatorial elections. During this period, the Democrats have also been successful in electing their congressman and both United States senators, except in 1934 when Senator Cutting, an independent Republican, won in a close contest. Roosevelt received unprecedented majorities in 1932 and 1936 in the presidential race. Control of both houses of the state legislature, and a large majority of the county and municipal offices also fell into the hands of the Democrats.

Four local reasons, aside from the national trend, very largely account for the shift in party allegiance during these years. New voters from outside the state, as well as those coming of age within the state, have tended to go into the majority party, the Democratic, because it seemed to offer them more immediate advantages. The organization of the Republican party has gradually lost much of its power due to an almost total lack of patronage with which to reward its leaders. Also, the rapid growth of the eastern counties from Texas migration further added to their already overwhelming Democratic majorities. And last, but not least, the Democrats have succeeded, particularly since Senator Cutting's death, in capturing the majority of the Spanish-American leaders and their followers. At the end of 1938, the political situation in the state was very succinctly summed up by a former chairman of the Republican state committee who sorrowfully remarked to the writer: "It looks like we have become a part of the Solid South."

Loss of Spanish-American support is the key to Republican decline in the state. This loss has been partly due to the

death of Senator Cutting, whom the Republican party could not replace with another leader capable of holding the loyalty of the native group, and somewhat due to the rise of Senator Dennis Chavez, a Spanish-American, to prominence in Democratic councils; the loss must be attributed chiefly, however, to the relief policies sponsored by President Roosevelt. The low income group in New Mexico was hit hard by the depression. The relief load at its peak, in January, 1935, was 135,670 persons,⁴¹ or approximately one-third of the total population of the state. Democratic politicians were quick to take political advantage of the opportunity to claim the loyalty of the relief group, and a change in the voting habits of a number of counties was effected. Control of the relief administration became a powerful political influence in both state and local elections.

Scandals developed in 1938, and scores of Democratic politicians from the wing of the party controlling the WPA were indicted. The subsequent trials, while they resulted in acquittal of most of the defendants, attracted nation-wide attention and established that persons on relief were being influenced unduly in the exercise of their franchise. An improvement in the relief administration has since been made, and it is less likely that workers on relief projects will hereafter be subject to continued political coercion of the type employed prior to 1938. A gradual decline in the relief load, now about one-fourth of the peak figure, has also lessened the political potentialities of the WPA.

Resuscitating the Republican party in the state is going to depend very largely on the reversal of the national trend. Potential factional disputes in the Democratic party, if they develop into defections of disgruntled groups, would, of course, aid the Republicans in returning to power quickly; and reduction of the relief load and the return of many unemployed to private jobs is a factor slowly working in their favor. New leadership in the party is desperately

41. Figures were taken from *Statistical Summary of Emergency Relief Activities, January, 1933, through December, 1935*, Emergency Relief Administration, Washington, D. C.

needed if a successful appeal to independent voters and Democratic "bolters" is to be made. The spirit of defeatism in the present leadership and in the rank and file of the party needs to be combatted, as it is a serious handicap. Also, a party program needs to be formulated that will present an acceptable alternative to the policies of the Democrats. Until at least a majority of these things come to pass, the Republican party is destined to remain a minority party in New Mexico.

PARTY LEADERSHIP

The Democratic party is now divided into three principal factions, each headed by a different leader. The present governor, John E. Miles, heads the strongest of these factions, if strength is to be measured in terms of the most extensive and influential organization. Miles is now serving his first term as governor and is eligible to succeed himself in 1940.⁴² Before becoming governor, in 1939, Miles had had a long career in state and local politics, which began in 1920 with his election as county assessor of Quay county on the east side of the state. Thence he had come from Tennessee as a poor youth and settled on a homestead. In the years immediately preceding his nomination for governor he had served as state chairman of the Democratic party. In this post he proved his political astuteness by holding the warring factions of his party together, and he gained the reputation among politicians as a man who kept his promises.

Although a quiet, shy, self-effacing man, possessing almost no formal education, he nevertheless has a native Scotch shrewdness that has been highly developed by twenty years of active participation in the rough-and-tumble of New Mexico politics. In the 1938 campaign, his opponents pictured him as a mere compromising politician, adept in the art of compromise, but having no constructive force; a man who would be controlled by a small coterie of strong-willed associates known to be close to him. As governor, he has not been spectacular, but he has kept his campaign pledges to

42. The state constitution provides that governors may not serve more than two consecutive terms of two years each.

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a commendable degree, and is proving a capable administrator. Also, on a number of occasions he has shown that he is not a man without a will of his own. He once made the statement that he didn't "expect to be a great governor but a good one," and he has gone far already in realizing his hope.

John J. Dempsey, lone congressman of the state, now serving his third consecutive term in the House of Representatives, is the leader of a second faction of the Democratic party and has a strong personal organization of his own. Elected first in 1934, he led the Democratic ticket in the 1936 and 1938 elections in number of votes received. Dempsey, even his opponents admit, has been extremely effective in Congress in securing favors for New Mexico. He came to Santa Fe more than a decade ago from New York City, where he was operating manager of one of the principal subways. In New York, he was an acquaintance of both Franklin D. Roosevelt and James A. Farley. He has risen rapidly in state political affairs and all signs point to his retaining his present eminence indefinitely.

Senator Dennis Chavez, a native, is the leader of the Spanish-American wing of the Democratic party. Before becoming a United States senator, Chavez served in the House of Representatives. In 1934, he ran against Senator Cutting and was defeated by a small majority in a bitterly contested election. On Cutting's death, he was appointed by the then governor, Clyde Tingley, to the vacancy, and in 1936 he was elected to serve the unexpired term. His strength is, principally, in the native counties. In the 1938 election, his faction combined with the Miles and Dempsey groups and at present the coalition continues.

Senator Carl Hatch is a lone wolf in New Mexico politics. Thus far he has managed to remain neutral of factional disputes and at the same time receive the support of all the factional leaders. Apparently, he has no important organization of his own. A former law partner of ex-Senator Sam Bratton, he was appointed to the Senate when the latter resigned to accept a place on the United States Circuit Court

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of Appeals. In 1936, he was elected to a full term. Hatch's success is due largely to his being content to attend to his duties in the Senate, and not attempting to build up a personal organization with which to fight the other factional leaders for dominance in state party affairs. In the Senate, he has gained national recognition for his successful sponsoring of the Hatch Act, which prohibits certain pernicious political activities by government employees.

Clyde Tingley, long-time mayor of Albuquerque and twice governor of the state, is another important leader in Democratic political circles. Since retiring as governor, he has again assumed his former position as mayor of Albuquerque. A colorful, two-fisted type, Tingley can be expected to figure prominently in all elections. At various times in recent years, he has been at odds with Dempsey, Miles, and Chavez.

Bronson Cutting, United States senator from 1928 to 1935, must be reckoned the outstanding leader of the Republican party in the state in the past ten years, and was the only Republican elected to important office in the period. Cutting, a scion of a distinguished New York family and a multi-millionaire by inheritance, came to New Mexico, fresh from Harvard, to regain his health. When his strength returned he entered politics for an interest. He purchased the *Santa Fe New Mexican*, a daily, gave it an aggressive, liberal policy, and became the champion of the Spanish-Americans and the war veterans. Using these two groups as a nucleus, he built a powerful personal organization, and with its support rose to power.

In the Senate, Cutting was acknowledged to be a progressive leader of outstanding promise. His interest in policy, however, was almost entirely on the national level, and for reasons not yet satisfactorily explained, he never took a great interest in extending his influence to creating a genuinely progressive movement in New Mexico. Perhaps he didn't have the time, or the energy, to carry on the fight at home and in Washington. Whatsoever the reason, his fol-

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lowing was not capable of replacing him with a leader of his type of mind, and at his death it dissolved.

Cutting was never considered a "good" Republican by the older leaders of the party in the state. He was not typical of them, and the ones among them who did back him must have done so for personal reasons rather than because they agreed with him on matters of public policy. Frequently he warred with the conservative wing of his party, and in 1934 many of this group bolted to the Democrats in an attempt to defeat him. Had he lived longer, there is little doubt but that he would have become the undisputed master of his party in New Mexico. His death in 1935, in an airplane crash, was not only a great blow to the Republican party, but a real tragedy to the people of the entire state.

Since Cutting's death, the Republicans, being out of power, have not had a favorable opportunity to develop their leaders, and the conservative wing of the party is again in control of the party organization.

In the 1938 election, Albert M. Mitchell, manager of the Bell ranch, one of the largest in the state, was the party's nominee for governor, and Pearce Rodey, prominent Albuquerque attorney, was the candidate for Congress. Mitchell ran far ahead of his ticket, but was defeated by approximately seven thousand votes. Mitchell and Rodey are recognized as being two of the outstanding figures in New Mexico. Each is a man of strong character, high intelligence, and proven ability. As leaders they gave the Republican ticket in 1938 a strong appeal to independent voters.

Mrs. Ruth Hanna McCormick Simms, of Albuquerque, wealthy daughter of the late Mark Hanna and former congressman-at-large in Illinois—now the wife of a former New Mexico congressman—and Mr. Cyrus McCormick, of Santa Fe, a relative of the Chicago McCormicks, are among the more important and influential figures in the party.

Of the Spanish-American leaders in the Republican party, Miguel "Mike" Otero, Maurice Miera, and Joseph Tondre, each young and able, are perhaps the best known.

Among the less well-known Republicans are many

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potential leaders that may emerge to head the party under the workings of the new state primary law. There is a definite feeling on the part of many of these men that their party needs to adopt a more progressive program. If this were done, it might do much to restore the strength of the party. If, in addition, the party could develop an outstanding Spanish-American leader to appeal to the native group, it would immensely enhance its chances of returning to power in the state.

SOME CONCLUSIONS

As one surveys the political scene in New Mexico, as a student of government, and lives among the people as one of them, he is impressed that here conditions make possible a political democracy. Jefferson, if he were living, would like New Mexico because it is favorably divided between countryside and small towns, and people are not "piled upon one another in large cities, as in Europe." Farming, ranching, small businesses, and the professions are the simple pursuits of most of the people, and there are only a few great corporations to regiment the workers, for the nature of the resources and the distance from markets are not favorable to corporate establishment. Because the land area is great and the population sparse, a man counts for much, and, as a result, his ego is admirably strong. In the presence of dignitaries, who in world-cities would make others feel envious and inferior, his demeanor is that of a man of pride, an equal.

Mr. Andrew Lytle, in his chapter of *I'll Take My Stand*, recounts an incident that occurred when Van Buren, then president, made a speech at Murfreesboro, Tennessee. At the end of the speech, a rich planter led one of his tenants, named Abner, up to meet the president.

Abner stepped up with perfect composure, pressed His Excellency's hand deliberately down, and said in a calm, even tone: "Mr. Buren, the next time you come down I want you to come out my way and ra'r around some with us boys."

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This man worked a little truck-patch on somebody else's land; hunted at night for pelts; fished in Stone's River, and ra'red around when he was a mind to. He possessed nature as little as possible, but he enjoyed it a great deal, so well that he felt the President might be satisfied with what hospitality he had to offer. Wherever a society has at its base people so contented with this lot, it may not be perfectly ideal, but it is the best politicians will ever effect and maintain.

Amid the people of New Mexico there remains much of this same, essentially democratic spirit. The writer has personally seen and heard many a humble citizen greet his governor, when he chanced to meet him, with the salutation, "Hello, Dick, Clyde, or Johnny," or whatever the governor's name happened to be. In doing so he meant no disrespect, and best of all the governor, far from feeling offended, seemed to appreciate the spirit behind the greeting, and returned it in kind. When Bronson Cutting was alive he seemed to enjoy sincerely the company of the poorest natives, and he attended their delight-making fiestas as well as their all-night wakes over the dead, as one of them. In turn, they thought nothing of calling on him at his mansion for all manner of reasons, whether great or trivial; just as a friend might. The writer has seen politicians patronize their followers in Europe and in a great many places in the United States, and realizes it is a feature of the great game of politics, done for effect and in a spirit of condescension on the leader's part. In New Mexico, however, it seems to be nearly always genuine, a natural thing, native to the environment and the people. The common touch of the leaders and the feeling of equality in the people may not always survive, but for a while, at least, they shall remain a source of strength to regional and American democracy.

Encouraging also is the general interest in elections. Here is a state, seemingly, where citizens, instead of being bored with political campaigns, are much interested in them. Perhaps the interest exists because the people are not sufficiently distracted by a multiplicity of commercial amuse-

ments. Perhaps it is due to the better reason that they realize the stakes at issue. Or account for it in other ways, but the fact remains the interest exists, revealed clearly by the relation between the total vote cast and the total eligible. While it is to be admitted that a high citizen interest in elections does not necessarily result in an intelligent electoral verdict, nevertheless interest is a better sign than indifference that a democracy is healthy.

Although party organization and pressure groups exercise a greater influence than their numerical strength would seem to justify, and traditional voting habits are strong, the independent vote is on the increase, and it is becoming not uncommon for whole groups to switch their support from one party to the other in an election. Witness the shift of the Spanish-American group in recent years, for example. The political "ground-swell," so much feared by every majority party, is always a threat and causes those in power to temper their policies to public approval.

The expectation of the lower income groups of better things ahead, an inheritance from the western pioneers, renders them ready for change. Leaders promising to use the government as an agency for greater social service appeal to these groups far more effectively than those who talk in opposite terms. In an area where the government has harnessed the rivers with gigantic dams and reclaimed the desert to cultivation, the realization of the might of government for good in human affairs is common to even the illiterate. That this power should not be further used as long as great social problems remain unsolved is unthinkable to a great majority of the people.

As one considers the various forces at work in New Mexico politics today, they add up to the conclusion that the state is a political democracy on the march, that it is interested in progressive governmental policies, and that it is unafraid of the future, for it expects much from it. Consequently, leaders and parties must promise to go ahead rather than call a halt or beat a retreat.

Chapter VIII

ARIZONA: A STATE OF NEW-OLD FRONTIERS

By WALDO E. WALTZ



Arizona, the youngest state in the Union, is new and yet old. New in the sense that American pioneers did not settle it in large numbers until after the Civil War and that it was not admitted to statehood until 1912.

The state is old in the sense that it was first visited by white men as early as 1539, when Fray Marcos de Niza, a Spanish padre and missionary, travelled through it. The Spaniards found the area an uncharted desert inhabited by Indians, but endowed it with a sprinkling of missions, which combined economic enterprise and efforts to Christianize the natives.

When Mexico, aroused to political consciousness, won her independence from Spain in 1822, present day Arizona was within her boundary lines. By means of two separate acquisitions of territory, Arizona was brought under the American flag. A large part of it was obtained from Mexico by the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, in 1848, at the close of the war between the United States and Mexico. The Gadsden purchase, five years later (negotiated by James Gadsden, a railway official and government agent of the United States; and Santa Ana, head of the Mexican government), included approximately the southern quarter of the state, lying south of the Gila river. Arizona was organized as a territory in 1863, and after a colorful thirty years' struggle, gained statehood status on February 14, 1812.¹

GEOGRAPHICAL ENVIRONMENT

Arizona is located in the arid Southwest and the Colorado Plateau province. Its boundaries extend a distance of

1. Waltz, Waldo E., *Arizona Constitutional Government*, pp. 1 ff.



approximately 385 miles from Mexico, on the south, to Utah and Nevada, on the north; and about 355 miles from California, Mexico, and Nevada on the west, to New Mexico, on the east. The state has three distinctly marked physiographical divisions: (1) the plateau regions, which occupy the northeastern third; (2) the mountain region, a belt from 75 to 160 miles in breadth, which, running from northwest to southeast, crosses the central part of the state; and (3) the desert plains region which lies southwest of the mountainous belt.

In land area, Arizona, with a total of 73,761,314 acres,

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ranks fifth among the states. About 90 per cent of the area consists of mountainous forests and woodland, located largely on the northern plateaus and desert rocky wasteland, and grassland, located in the southern and western parts of the state. Only about 0.1 per cent of Arizona's total surface area (146 square miles of 113,956 square miles) is water surface.

Approximately 81 per cent of Arizona's total acreage is publicly owned, with the national government accounting for approximately 69 per cent and the state government about 12 per cent.

The income earned by federally owned lands is, in a considerable measure, returned to the state and counties to assist in paying the expenses of education and highway construction. It is estimated, for example, that the state and counties receive about 46 per cent of the gross receipts from the national forests within the state. Moreover, it is indicated that for the period March 4, 1933, to June 30, 1938, the federal government expended a total of \$171,811,828 in the state of Arizona while collecting about \$13,555,262.² These expenditures were for agricultural rentals and benefits, agricultural conservation, emergency relief, civil works administration, civilian conservation corps, farm security administration, highway construction and grade crossings, public works administration, works progress administration, soil conservation work, veterans administration, Indian service, reclamation service, and similar activities. In addition, loans were made and loans were insured in the amounts of \$57,652,159 and \$11,135,490 respectively. The total financial benefits to the residents of Arizona during this period have been indicated as being \$237,152,527.³ It is evident, therefore, that for each dollar collected by the United Bureau of Internal Revenue from Arizona taxpayers, \$12.67 were returned as expenditures; and when the loans

2. Office of Government Reports, "Detailed State Report of Federal Expenditures, 1933-1938," Report No. 2, 8 pp., Oct., 1938.

3. *Ibid.*

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made and guaranteed are considered, the sum is \$17.50 for each dollar collected in taxes.

The assessed valuation of taxable property in Arizona in 1938 was \$386,550,388; two counties of the fourteen, Maricopa and Pima, with 27.11 per cent and 15.91 per cent respectively, accounted for 43.02 per cent of the total. Of the 1938 assessed valuation, 33.81 per cent was in land, town and city lots, and their improvements; mining property and railroads accounted for 23.29 per cent and 20.14 per cent respectively. The assessed value of the livestock was but 2.3 per cent of the total. The peak in assessed value of taxable property in Arizona was reached in 1920, with a total of \$884,455,682; during the 1920's the figure remained above \$640,000,000. The low figure of \$355,482,661 occurred in 1935, and, since that year, there has been a slow upward trend in the assessed valuation.

Though Arizona is a state of relatively high temperatures and long rainless periods, accidents of topography and well developed stream supplies have occasioned great concentrations of water supply. The heavy precipitation on the high mountain chains, which cross the state from northwest to southeast, with resulting heavy runoffs from rain and snow, provide concentrated stream flows. The principal rivers of the state are the Colorado, the Little Colorado, the Gila, and the Salt. These four rivers and their important tributaries: Silver Creek, the Verde, Agua Fria, San Pedro, Santa Cruz, and the Rillito rivers, give the state a total of nine rivers which have assumed economic and political significance. The snows of the mountain ranges melt early and the winter rainy season ends in March, with the result that the streams fail or become low any time from May to July. After the summer rains of July and August, the streams dwindle again in September. Holdover of water supply from winter to summer and from years of appreciable rainfall to years of water scarcity becomes a necessity. By three methods this is done on a tremendous scale. First, by means of high dams and surface storage reservoirs; second, by natural groundwater reservoirs, especially in cen-

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tral and southern Arizona; third, by storing it in the soil itself.⁴

Arizona, though noted for its dryness, contains regions which receive over 30 inches of precipitation annually. The mean annual rainfall varies from 2 to 10 inches in the eastern half. Tucson, located in the southeastern portion of the state with an altitude of 2,400 feet, has experienced snowfall of one-half to two inches, although several years may pass during which no snowfall occurs. Snow is common on the plateaus of northern Arizona and in the mountains.

Extremely high and low temperatures are characteristics of Arizona, ranging from a recorded high of 127° at Parker to a recorded low of -32° at Chin Lee. Ordinarily, however, at Tucson, a maximum temperature of 108° is expected in the summer, and a minimum temperature of 22° each winter. The maximum and minimum temperatures of Phoenix are slightly higher. A comparison of the mean annual temperatures of several Arizona weather observation stations with those of others in the United States and in certain foreign countries reveals that Mohawk, Arizona, has a similar mean temperature to Miami, Florida, and Rio de Janeiro; Tucson is similar to Mobile, Alabama, and Lima, Peru; Flagstaff in northern Arizona, with an altitude of around seven thousand feet, is comparable to Minneapolis or Toronto. Arizona's coldest station, Bright Angel Ranger Station, in the Grand Canyon district, has a mean temperature similar to that at Glacier Park or Leningrad.⁵

ECONOMIC BACKGROUND

Arizona's mineral deposits are her most valuable asset. In the production of copper, Arizona stands first among the forty-eight states. In fact, for many years, she has produced nearly as much copper as all the rest of the states. Unlike Montana, Utah, and Michigan—the other leading copper states—Arizona does not depend upon a single great mine or

4. Smith, G. E. P., "Water Supplies," *Arizona and Its Heritage, Univ. of Arizona Bulletin*, pp. 87-46, April 1, 1936.

5. Smith, H. V., "Climate," *Arizona and Its Heritage, op. cit.*, pp. 28-29.

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district for copper production; she has important mines in seven districts, and profitable mining properties have been operated elsewhere.

However, Arizona is not a one-metal state. Gold, silver, lead, and zinc are profitably mined and in appreciable quantities. Thousands of tons of manganese have been mined, and there are still huge reserves of this ore in the state. Appreciable tonnages of asbestos and molybdenum ores have been and will continue to be mined as prices warrant it. Considerable tungsten ore was produced during the period of high war prices; several tungsten properties are active now. Among other mineral substances that have been produced in the state are vanadium, limestone, gypsum, Mexican onyx, building stones, fluorite, barite, celestite, strontianite, cinnabar, feldspar, and bentonite. Coal exists in considerable quantities on Indian reservations in northern Arizona, and some coal is at present mined near Pinedale, south of Holbrook, and at Montezuma's Chair, southeast of Winslow. An enormous deposit of iron ore is known to exist in the east central part of the state, and lesser deposits have been discovered in other sections. Known deposits of alunite near Quartzsite, Yuma county, may become important in the development of an aluminum industry in the future. Other minerals that may become productive are kyanite, dumortierite, and large deposits of marble.

Many of Arizona's lower grades of minerals may become of significant economic importance as new processes for treating such ores are improved, and as new and greater uses for certain of these ores are developed. Moreover, Arizona's extensive areas have only partially been prospected by scientifically trained men.

Economically, Arizona's mineral wealth has amounted to the tremendous sum of over \$3,000,000,000 in mined and quarried products. Most of it has been produced within the last fifty years. In a single year, 1917, approximately \$210,000,000 worth of copper, gold, silver, lead, and zinc was mined in the state. The total value of these metals in 1929 was \$155,567,000. Although mining was in a decidedly

depressed condition in 1934, the value of the state's five principal minerals during that year was nearly \$500,000 greater than the value of all the cotton, citrus fruits, hay and grain, sorghum, alfalfa seed, cantaloupe, lettuce, and miscellaneous crops produced in the state, and in 1935 her production of these metals was worth 5 per cent more than in 1934.⁶

In number of gainfully employed workers, the mineral extracting industry ranked fourth in the state in 1929. Agriculture, manufacturing and mechanical crafts, and trade pursuits, each employed more workers. However, many of those employed in the manufacturing and mechanical crafts and in trade pursuits were employed by the mining industry. During subsequent years, while the depression was at its height, many of these workers joined the ranks of the unemployed. But with the upturn of the industry beginning in 1935, many of the unemployed went back to work.

The mining, smelting, and refining of copper ores require the expenditure of enormous sums for plant and operating expenses, and these industries are in the hands of large corporations. The foremost corporation engaged in Arizona's copper industry is the Phelps Dodge Corporation, with its main office in Douglas and its headquarters in New York City.⁷ Its original holdings are in the Clifton district, which was later expanded to include practically the entire district of Clifton and Morenci. Later acquisitions of Phelps Dodge include the Copper Queen claims and surrounding claims in Bisbee. From time to time, other properties were secured by purchase, smelting plants were built, and the bullion was shipped to eastern refineries. Further merger and consolidation brought the Old Dominion, of Globe, and recently the purchase of the United Verde Mine and other Clark properties at Jerome and Clarksdale gives Phelps Dodge Corporation control in that camp. It is today the

6. Butler, G. M., "Mineral Industries," *Arizona and Its Heritage*, op. cit., pp. 156-168.

7. See Mathewson, E. P., "Mining Companies," *Arizona and Its Heritage*, op. cit., pp. 169-175.

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second largest producer of copper in the world. It owns fabrication plants so that the company handles copper from the mine to the consumer. The company also has large mercantile establishments in the various camps in which it operates.

The Kennecott Copper Corporation, the world's largest producer of copper, owns the mines of the Ray Consolidated Copper Company, at Ray, Arizona; also the concentrator at Hayden. The Anaconda Copper Mining Company, probably the third largest copper producer, is represented in Arizona by its holdings of Inspiration Consolidated Copper Company stock and its entirely owned International Smelting and Refining Company's plant at Miami. The American Smelting and Refining Company, another of the first-rank copper producers, has varied interests in Arizona. Among its holdings are a smelter at Hayden, much copper property in the Silver Bell district, and the Octave Gold Mine.

Other corporations with holdings in Arizona are the Miami Copper Company, at Miami, which has prospered through its method of treating very low-grade ore; the Magma Copper Company, at Superior, which operates one of the higher grade mines with important gold and silver ore as by-products; the Shattuck Denn Mining Corporation, at Bisbee, and others.

Arizona, therefore, is first of all a mining state of giant corporations. Their significance in respect to the state's economic, social, and political life is very great. The mine workers in the territory of Arizona (1863-1912) had no organization whatsoever before 1896. There was little unemployment, and the miners seemed generally contented. "However, the mine employees were definitely under the domination of mine managements. Most of the mines resembled feudal camps; the mines paid the workers with *boletas*, which could be exchanged for goods at the company stores. Even the houses in which the miners lived were owned by the companies." ⁸

By 1896, conditions were changing and, as the mines

8. Brannon, Victor DeWitt, "Employers' Liability and Workmen's Compensation in Arizona," *Univ. of Ariz. Bull., Social Science Bull.*, No. 7, p. 7.

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were making less profit and wages were lowered, labor began to organize to keep wages up. The first group to organize was at Globe, in 1896. By 1903, numerous trade unions, miners' unions, and railway brotherhoods were in existence in the territory. Seven years later, in 1910, the situation was that, while certain groups of laborers in the territory of Arizona were organized, the great mass of workingmen were entirely without organization. Only the railroad workers had unions that covered the entire territory, and were very influential. The miners were organized mainly on a local basis. The union at Globe was the only strong organization of miners. The Western Federation of Miners, with branches at Bisbee, Globe, and Douglas, was discredited in most parts of the territory.⁹

The late former Governor George W. P. Hunt has declared that every territorial legislature was under the control of the corporations.¹⁰ The mines and railroads were strong enough to block most adverse legislation. It was charged that if an anti-corporation bill managed to be pushed through both the House and the Council, \$2,000 would secure the governor's veto. Both of the major parties were under the influence of the corporations.¹¹

Upon President Taft's signing of the Enabling Act authorizing Arizona and New Mexico to draft constitutions for statehood, Governor Sloan issued a proclamation for a constitutional convention for Arizona, the fifty-one members of which were to be elected on September 12, 1910. A vigorous campaign ensued, during which the Democratic and labor leaders, under the direction of Democratic leader, George W. P. Hunt, united their efforts and elected forty-one of the delegates. Many of the present provisions of Arizona's constitution, namely, the initiative and referendum, the recall, employers' liability, and workmen's compensation, received the support of this group.

General agriculture ranks second in importance among

9. *Ibid.*, p. 11.

10. Quoted in *ibid.*

11. *Ibid.*,

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Arizona industries. Lands available for cropping embrace some 775,000 acres of irrigated land and approximately 75,000 acres dry farmed, a total of some 850,000 acres. This acreage approximates little more than 1 per cent of the state's total land area. The irrigated land consists mainly of some sixty-three major irrigation enterprises and twenty-eight smaller enterprises. Practically all the latter in each instance comprise more than 500 acres in cultivation. The principal crops and acreages in 1934 were as follows: alfalfa, 160,000 acres; cotton, 136,000 acres; wheat, 50,000 acres; corn, 35,000 acres; sorghum, 33,000 acres; barley, 30,000 acres.¹²

Approximately half of the irrigated land, 376,000 acres, is located in the Salt River valley, with an average elevation of 1,150 feet above sea level. Other larger irrigated areas lie within the Upper Gila, Casa Grande, and Yuma-Gila valleys. The Yuma valley project has an elevation of but 125 feet above sea level and a growing season of 327 days. A frost free growing season of this duration is equalled by but few other farming areas in the United States.

With a few exceptions, the dry farming area is located in the northern half of the state at elevations above 4,500 feet. The principal field crops grown in these areas are corn, small grains, sorghums, beans, and alfalfa. The varieties grown must be drouth resistant due to annual rainfall of between fifteen and twenty-five inches. Many farmers supplement the natural rainfall with diverted flood waters and with supplementary irrigation water from wells. Arizona's wide variety of soils and climate, supplemented by agricultural and hydrographic scientific controls, make it possible to produce nearly any field crop that has a place anywhere in the entire country. Here are raised cool-climate crops and crops of the tropics, together with adapted varieties of each. Each year witnesses some development of the production of pure seed supplies of alfalfa, Atlas and other varieties of sorghum, sugar beets, and other crops for export to other

12. Hawkins, R. S., and Briggs, I. A., "Field Crops," *Arizona and Its Heritage*, op. cit., pp. 210-216.

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states. Perfect isolation in small irrigated areas, single variety communities, and other factors are all favorable to producing pure seeds of high quality and certainty of production.

The total value of leading agricultural crops¹³ was estimated for 1934 at \$15,723,000; cotton and hay-sorghum crops were the leaders in value at \$8,211,000 and \$5,279,000 respectively. In addition, more than 45,000 crop acres are annually devoted to the commercial production of vegetables, which return to the state a gross annual income in excess of \$5,000,000.¹⁴ Also, some 21,400 acres are devoted to the raising of citrus fruits, of which all but a few acres are located in Maricopa and Yuma counties.¹⁵ About two-thirds of the acreage is planted to grapefruit and one-third to oranges and miscellaneous citrus, such as lemons, limes, and tangerines. Pecan and dates thrive and produce well in the state. More than 3,000 acres of pecan trees have been planted in the Yuma valley, and an additional 1,000 acres in Maricopa, Pinal, Pima, and Graham counties. Some 75,000 palms of Old World varieties of dates now grow in Arizona, the great majority of which are choice varieties imported from northern Africa and the Persian Gulf region.

A number of other fruits and vegetables are grown in appreciable quantities, largely for home use and domestic market. Among these are grapes, early apricots, plums, peaches, figs, and olives. These are especially adapted to conditions prevailing in the lower, irrigated valleys of the state.

Of the 165,300 Arizona persons ten years of age and over gainfully employed, approximately 38,700 are engaged in agriculture of one kind or another. This number is larger

13. See U. S. Bureau of the Census, "U. S. Census of Agriculture: 1935, Ariz.," p. 5. Leading crops are cotton, hay-sorghum forage, wheat, barley, grain sorghums, corn, Irish potatoes, oats, sweet potatoes and yams, mixed grains, and rye.

14. Wharton, M. F., "Truck Crops," *Arizona and Its Heritage*, op. cit., pp. 216-220.

15. Kinnison, A. F., "Horticulture," *Arizona and Its Heritage*, op. cit., pp. 220-224.

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than that employed in any other single industry in the state. Of Arizona's 105,992 families, 20,967 are farm families.

Agriculture in Arizona dates back to primitive beginnings with the aborigines, consisting mainly of Hopi, Papago, Pima, Navajo, and Apache Indians. These peoples, working under semi-arid conditions, evolved crop plants adapted to the region and devised ingenious methods for their culture.¹⁶ The Spaniards were next on the scene in the early sixteenth century (almost a hundred years before the Pilgrims landed at Plymouth Rock), and with them the padres, zealous agricultural missionaries, who introduced not only religion but also many European crops of cereals, vegetables, and fruit trees; also, they brought many domestic animals.¹⁷ These additions to agriculture affected the industrial, political, and social life of the country. Travel was facilitated by horse and mule power; burdens were shifted from human to animal backs. Animal power facilitated increased cultivated areas. An interesting semi-civilization already existed when the American pioneer came into the region. During the fifties, and later, these pioneers came overland and by water. "Attracted by high prices paid at the military posts for hay, corn, and beef; by the profits of the freighting business; by love of adventure or through need for refuge, this vanguard of the American occupation began the third period of agricultural development in Arizona."¹⁸ Improvements in equipment, of crop varieties, and domestic animals have resulted from their coming. Also certain new and important crops, such as alfalfa, sorghums, cotton, citrus fruits, date palms, and various vegetable crops, were introduced and developed.

However, along with the developments occasioned by a growing population and the passage and press of time, some changes (not always desirable) have taken place. "Ranges have been overgrazed and storm waters, no longer restrained

16. See Forbes, R. H., "Pioneer Agriculture," *Arizona and Its Heritage*, *op. cit.*, pp. 205-210.

17. See for example, Waltz, W. E., *op. cit.*, pp. 1-3.

18. Forbes, R. H., *op. cit.*, p. 208.

by grass cover, following cattle paths, roadways, and ditches, have started the erosion which has gullied the valley bottoms for many hundreds of miles and which has permanently changed hydrographic conditions in the region. Irrigation has resulted in extensive accumulations of alkali and has raised the problem of its removal. Intensive cultivation likewise has introduced the complex problem of maintaining soil fertility by rotations, by the use of animal wastes, and by the application of commercial fertilizers. Accompanying plants introduced are parasites and diseases necessitating a wide range of remedial measures.”¹⁹

Ranking third among Arizona's chief industries is that of livestock production, consisting mainly of cattle, sheep, and goats. Fully 85 per cent of Arizona's acreage possesses a natural adaptability for the development of a livestock industry of great importance. Except for the very low forage-producing region in the southwestern section and the comparatively small acreage of scattered irrigated lands, the entire state can be regarded as a grazing domain.

The United States Bureau of Agricultural Economics has estimated the state's cattle population at 863,000 on June 1, 1935. This number is somewhat above the ten-year average (1925-34) of 790,000 cattle, but below the thirty-year (1901-1930) average of approximately 900,000 range cattle.²⁰

The average out of state export of cattle over a thirty-year period has been about 268,000 head; an additional 87,000 were, on the average, slaughtered in the state. The average annual production of cattle has been, therefore, around 355,000 head. For the five-year period (1930-34) an average of 59,000 cattle were imported each year. Allowing for the rather large in-movement of cattle in recent years, the liquidation of cattle has been heavy, with the average annual cash income from the sale of cattle and calves for the 1925-34 period approximating \$9,400,000. The total capital

19. *Ibid.*, p. 209.

20. Stanley, E. B., “Cattle Industry,” *Arizona and Its Heritage*, *op. cit.*, p. 182.

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investment of the range cattle industry of Arizona is estimated at around \$50,000,000.²¹

Range sheep and goat production is not a state-wide enterprise in the state. Except for about 5 per cent of the sheep in the state, exclusive of those Indian owned, the industry is run on the high plateaus of northern Arizona. The goat industry is pursued in the counties of Yavapai, Graham, Mohave, and Pinal, principally, and in rather isolated sections of Cochise, Coconino, and Pima counties.

The United States Bureau of Agricultural Economics has estimated the number of sheep and lambs in the state for January 1, 1936, at about 930,000. This number is below the ten-year average (1925-34) of 1,123,000.²² The estimated number on January 1, 1938, was between 800,000 and 850,000 head. Approximately one-half of the state's sheep population is owned by the Navajo Indians. A substantial reduction of about 28 per cent in the numbers of sheep and goats on the Navajo reservation has been effected since 1930, while reduction in the goat population is about 50 per cent. The total number of Arizona goats clipped for mohair in 1935 has been estimated by the United States Department of Agriculture at 150,000 as compared with 200,000 in 1932. In addition to goats raised for mohair in the state, the Navajo Indians own about 105,000 goats, which are used almost entirely for meat purposes.

The Arizona Woolgrower's Association has estimated the annual wool clip taken from Arizona sheep in 1938 at 5,100,000 pounds as compared with a ten-year (1928-37) average yield of 5,200,000 pounds.²³

The organization used for managing sheep outfits is relatively simple, with the majority of Arizona sheepmen actively engaged in managing their own outfits. A subforeman is engaged in keeping in direct contact with the needs of the different bands, and, in case of absence of the owner, is in

21. *Ibid.*, p. 182.

22. Stanley, E. B., "Range Sheep Industry," *Arizona and Its Heritage*, *op. cit.*, p. 192.

23. Barr, George W., and Shinn, Lloyd B., "Arizona Agricultural Situation, 1939," *University of Arizona College of Agriculture, Agr. Extension Service*.

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immediate charge. A camp tender provisions the camp and locates range and water for the bands.

Bands of fifteen hundred to two thousand head of dry sheep, and somewhat smaller bands of seven hundred to one thousand ewes and their lambs are most usual. Each band is in charge of a herder and one helper. Conditions in Arizona require the so-called transient system of herding which necessitates the use of more labor than is ordinarily used in other sections of the range country.

One of Arizona's basic industries is based on the wealth of her forests. Prior to 1930, lumber and timber production ranked about fifth among Arizona's industries. In 1927, twenty-six active mills in the state produced 169,000,000 board feet of lumber, with a wholesale value of approximately \$4,500,000. An average of about two thousand people were employed by the industry. In 1933, some twenty-eight active mills produced 90,000,000 board feet of lumber and employed eleven hundred wage earners.²⁴

The greatest market for Arizona lumber is within the state, with fruit and vegetable crate manufacturing consuming a considerable part of the output. The quantity of lumber shipped outside the state is approximately offset by imports from the west coast, mainly into the southern part of the state.

The federal government owns and controls 98.3 per cent of the state's acreage of forested lands.²⁵ The history of the lumber industry has been one of quick development, a period of prosperity, then sudden decline as the mills were moved into new sections. Forests were treated more as mines rather than a source of renewable timber resources. "The policy of 'cut out and get out' left in its wake a trail of devastated timber lands, abandoned fields, and deserted towns."²⁶

24. Pearson, G. A., "Lumber Industry," *Arizona and Its Heritage*, *op. cit.*, pp. 176-181.

25. Lauver, Mary Ellen, "A History of the Use and Management of the Forested Lands of Arizona, 1862-1936," *A. M. Thesis at University of Arizona* (MS in Univ. of Ariz. Library), pp. 2-3.

26. Pearson, *op. cit.*, p. 178.

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However, of the 3,651,000 acres of commercial saw timber of the state, only 16 per cent may be considered non-productive.

Opportunities for employment in the future of the lumber industry will probably not be limited to logging and milling operations, for tree farming is on its way. Thinning and pruning, together with correction of overcrowding and removal of defective trees are needed to increase the growth of those remaining. Already approximately thirty thousand acres of young pine in Arizona forests have been improved in this manner.

The 1937 census of manufacturing establishments reports a total of 290 manufacturing plants in the state which employed an average total of 7,193 wage earners.²⁷ Their wages reached a total average of \$8,602,418 in that year. The aggregate value of the products of these establishments was estimated at \$118,355,981. In the year 1935, 272 establishments employed 4,748 wage earners, paid them wages in the amount of \$5,083,516, and turned out products aggregating a value of \$55,456,045. The figures for wages paid in these years do not include the salaries of salaried officers and employees of these industries.

The smelting and refining of copper industry accounted for about 30 per cent (2,262 of the 7,193) of the industrial wage earners of the state in 1937. Approximately 40 per cent of the wages paid by this industry, and \$79,601,203 of the aggregate value of industrial products (\$118,355,181), or over 66 per cent, were accounted for by it. Lumber and timber production, together with planing mill products and other wooden products, ranked second in aggregate wages paid; while bread and bakery production, printing and publishing, and meat packing ranked third, fourth, and fifth respectively, in aggregate wages paid.

Transportation and communication are of first rank in importance in the state. About 16,200 workers were gainfully employed in these industries as shown by the census of 1930. The state may be traversed by means of a transportation network consisting of trunk line railways and connec-

27. Bureau of the Census, "Census of Manufacturing, 1937," p. 1 of I.

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tions, transcontinental airlines and feeders, and a state system of modern high speed highways. Means of communication consist of telegraph, telephone, and radio facilities, which are constantly being expanded and improved.

The state's approximate 2,300 miles of railways include the properties of two major systems: the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe and the Southern Pacific companies. The former system, with an east to west trunk line across northern Arizona, a branch line from Ash Fork to Phoenix, and other branches, operates about 825 miles of the state's railway system. The Southern Pacific traverses the southern part of the state in a southeastern to northwestern direction with its main line, and connects a number of points with the main line by means of numerous branches. This major system operates a total of about 1,225 miles of railways within the state.

During the past five years, some ten to twelve millions of dollars per year have been expended on the building and maintenance of the state's expanding highway system. The state and local governments have regularly received financial aid from the federal government. Federal funds expended in the state for highway purposes during the period beginning March 4, 1933, and ending June 30, 1938, totaled \$17,184,143, or an average of well over \$3,000,000 per year.

Tourist travel ranks as one of Arizona's most thriving industries, bringing into the state an estimated two million people each year. Many of these, enroute to destinations outside the state, remain only a few days; many others stay for several weeks; others remain for an entire season. It is estimated that the tourist business adds approximately \$50,000,000 a year to Arizona's income.

The state's extraordinary development as a tourist center is due to a variety of reasons of which the most important are its unique combination of climatic conditions and its wealth of scenic wonders. Southern Arizona has earned considerable repute as a winter resort region. Here recreation, dude ranches, and ranch schools abound. Northern Arizona,

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with its tall pines and cooler altitudes, attracts summer vacation tourists.

The greatest number of Arizona tourists travel by automobile. State highway department estimates, based on periodic traffic counts, indicate that more than 400,000 cars, carrying 1,500,000 persons, enter the state each year.²⁸ Added to these are some tens of thousands of travelers who come by train, and, like the motorists, stop for visits to the Grand Canyon, the Painted Desert, Roosevelt and Coolidge Dams, Phoenix, Tucson, or some other noted place in the state.

Similar to other states that are possessed of mild climate and abundant sunshine, Arizona regularly becomes the home of those who for health reasons seek relief from more rigorous climatic conditions. The arid and semi-arid sections of the state receive hundreds of these health seekers each year. Many of them bring their families and establish permanent homes; others come singly or accompanied by their families for temporary sojourns. Rich and poor alike they come; some because of public facilities made available to them because of former government service connections, others seeking facilities which must be privately financed. The federal government maintains large veteran facilities at Tucson and Prescott.

It frequently occurs that the able member of the health seeker's family, or the health seeker himself when able-bodied, expects to find employment in the economic activity of the state. Both advantages and disadvantages arise from conditions of this nature. A considerable factor of semi-transient and semi-active life in economic, political, and social aspects is a resultant of these conditions.

It can be observed from this geographic and economic description of Arizona that the large corporations exercise the dominant influence in the economic, social, and political life of the state. The farmer, rancher, live stock producer, and the smaller entrepreneur are probably secondary in importance. The political processes of the state are largely directed by these groups. Labor is only somewhat effectively

28. *Arizona Year Book*, 1931, p. 127.

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organized, and in proportion to its organized strength tends to express its view and aims in political affairs.

These varied interests extend their influence continuously. Certain rather well-known techniques or methods are observable. At times, less easily observed methods of a crafty nature are relied upon. Governmentally, the state is rather well equipped with the newer devices of popular self-government, such as the initiative and referendum and the recall. These, on occasions, are utilized by the voters to express approval or disapproval of indirect methods of government. However, Arizona's experiences indicate rather clearly that these direct popular devices of self-government can be effectively manipulated by minority groups.

The vastness of the area and the predominant rural nature and the sparseness of the state's population contribute to the aforementioned conditions. The racial issue seems not to have complicated the politics of the state to any extraordinary degree, as we shall see.

PEOPLE OF ARIZONA

Arizona ranked forty-third in total population, with 435,574 persons in 1930. Only the states of New Mexico, Nevada, Wyoming, Delaware, and Vermont have smaller total populations. However, only Montana, Nevada, and Wyoming are more sparsely populated. The state's 113,810 square miles of land area domiciling less than a half million people have a density of about thirty-eight persons on each ten square mile area, while the average population of the United States as a whole is 413 persons per ten square miles.

Thirty years ago, there were but eleven persons per ten square miles in Arizona, while sixty years ago the state contained less than 10,000 people. For the decade, 1910-20, Arizona led all the states in rate of population increase; for the decade, 1920-30, only the states of California, Florida, and Michigan showed greater rates of increase.

While Arizona is sparsely peopled as a whole, it has a population density that ranges from four persons per ten square miles in Mohave county to 170 persons per ten square

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miles in Maricopa county. Pima county, with fifty-nine persons per ten square miles, ranks second to the county of Maricopa in population density.

In respect to race, nationality, and nativity, Arizona's population is distinctly different from that of the majority of states. Among a sample of one thousand Arizona persons there are 571 native whites, 262 Mexicans, 100 Indians, 36 foreign-born whites, 25 Negroes, 3 Chinese, 2 Japanese, and 1 of other race or nativity. Whites, both native and foreign, including Mexicans, comprise 869 per thousand persons in the state. Approximately 24 per cent of Arizona's whites are Mexicans.²⁹

Arizona's population contains larger proportions of children and young people and fewer people in the middle-and older-age groups than are to be found in the United States as a whole. Also, Arizona has a larger excess of male population than the nation as a unit. These facts have been explained on the basis of a relative recency of pioneer and frontier conditions which brought to the state large numbers of younger and unattached males.

Arizona's people live in rural territory in much larger proportions than the country as a whole, though in comparison with the Mountain states, Arizona is exceeded in percentage of rural population by Montana, Idaho, Wyoming, and New Mexico. Of the state's 656 persons per 1,000 who live in rural territory, 227 are farm people and 429 non-farm people. Maine and Nevada, with 394 and 449 rural non-farm people respectively, are the only other states with similar proportions of this population-residence group.

Arizona has thirty-three incorporated cities and towns, eight of them having populations in excess of 5,000 and two, Phoenix and Tucson, in excess of 30,000. Six incorporated places have populations in excess of 2,500 but less than 5,000; nine, with an aggregate population of 14,911 are between 1,000 and 2,500 in size, while eleven, aggregating

29. Tetreau, E. D., "Population and Sociology," *Arizona and Its Heritage*, op. cit., pp. 259-264.

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9,169, are under 1,000 population.³⁰ The state's two largest cities, Phoenix and Tucson, with 48,118 and 32,506 people, respectively, have developed from small towns of less than 10,000 each in 1900 to their present size. If the populations outlying these two cities are considered, that is, the people living in the metropolitan areas, each would be approximately twice the indicated size.

A survey of the occupations of Arizona persons ten years of age and over who are gainfully employed shows that agriculture leads in the number of persons employed, wholesale and retail trade comes second, extraction of minerals third, manufacturing industries fourth, transportation fifth, and professional and semi-professional services sixth.

The illiteracy rate for whites (other than Mexicans) and Negroes in Arizona is far lower than for the United States as a whole, the rates being respectively for Arizona and the United States: native whites, 0.5 and 1.5; foreign-born whites, 3.6 and 9.9; and Negroes, 4.0 and 16.3. When Indians and Mexicans are considered, however, Arizona's total ratio of illiteracy is raised to 10.1 as compared with 4.3 for the entire nation.

In considering the number of potential voters in Arizona's total 1930 population of 435,573, it is necessary to eliminate, at once, about 45,000 Indians. The number twenty-one years of age or over was estimated at 244,115, of whom but 202,369 may be considered as potential voters. This disparity in numbers is accounted for by those who were unable to qualify as voters, such as aliens, Indians, and certain others. However, the total vote cast in Arizona for president in 1936 was approximately 122,000, which, when judged by the 1930 count of potential voters, was but about 60 per cent, a rather poor showing for the Arizona electorate.

The 45,000 Indians of the state live largely on a number of large reservations (such reservations comprise about 19,539,000 acres). Arizona ranks second to Oklahoma in Indian population, having about 13.5 per cent of the Indian

30. This classification of incorporated places and population figures is taken from the Fifteenth Census, 1930. At that time there were 84 incorporated places in the state.

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population of the United States. More full blood Indians live in Arizona than in any other state, with New Mexico as a rather close second in this respect. The Indians consist largely of Apache, Hopi, Navajo, Pima, and Papago tribes.³¹ These people are of little importance politically in the state since, "being persons under guardianship," they have been denied the ballot.³²

Arizona abounds with a great variety of religious groups, varying from a dozen or more formally organized groups to thousands of individuals who informally seek communion in ways peculiar to the individual. The Catholic Church has more members in the state than all the others combined. Protestants of every variety have brought from other states their creeds and have established their churches. The Mormon Church is the largest non-Catholic religious order in Arizona, with some 20,000 members scattered in villages and towns throughout the state.

Today, approximately 100,000, or two-thirds of the total membership of Christian churches, are Catholics. Spanish and English-speaking Mexican immigrants, together with Indians, constitute the largest group in this church, but Catholics from eastern states and from European countries are present in considerable numbers.

The Protestant churches have a membership of approximately fifty thousand. Methodists lead with about twelve thousand; Baptists are second with ten thousand; and Presbyterians third with eight thousand. A dozen other denominations are to be found in the larger urban places. However, the ties that bind individuals to their churches seem to be, on the whole, somewhat less imperative than in older states.³³

The interest of Arizona in education began quite early and has developed with the years. This interest is somewhat above average as attested by the proportion of school age

31. Secretary of the Interior, *Annual Report* (1936), pp. 208-12.

32. *Porter v. Hall* (1928), 271 Pac. 411.

33. Riesen, E. R., "Religious Patterns," *Arizona and Its Heritage*, *op. cit.*, pp. 273-284.

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children who are in attendance at school and their persistence through the upper grades at school.

Data in respect to the general interest of the people in Arizona indicate that 886 out of every 1,000 children in the state between the ages of five and seventeen years were in school in 1930. The persistence of pupils in Arizona schools is marked, as indicated by the enrollment in public high school grades in 1934. In that year, it was 21.2 per cent of the total public school enrollment.

Arizona has five institutions of higher learning—two junior colleges, two teachers colleges, and the University of Arizona. Some 4,750 students in Arizona are in attendance in these institutions.³⁴ The number of private and parochial schools in Arizona is comparatively small, with their enrollment being about 5 per cent of that of the public schools. The greater number of these non-public schools are elementary and secondary, though some work at the kindergarten level is offered in private schools.

Arizona is well supplied with radio broadcasting stations now that earlier difficulties presented by the desert heat and mountain barriers have been overcome by the later developments of radio technology. All of the major national networks have outlets in the state. Also programs originating in the state may be circulated by means of a state network system.

Further to enlighten public opinion, Arizona has a considerable variety of daily, semi-weekly, and weekly newspapers, monthly magazines, and other publications. Membership in the United Press and the Associated Press associations is common among the daily newspapers. Each of these associations has state headquarters in Phoenix, the capital of the state. More limited membership is found in the NEA and the various syndicates. Each of the state's two largest cities, Phoenix and Tucson, has both a morning and evening daily paper which circulates rather widely through the state.

34. Larson, Emil L., "Education," *Arizona and Its Heritage*, op. cit., pp. 264-73.

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PARTY ORGANIZATION

The Arizona election laws contain somewhat detailed provisions in regard to political party origin, organization, and machinery, but such are rather easily complied with. A petition presented to the secretary of state by a number of qualified electors equal to at least 2 per cent of the votes cast for governor at the last preceding general election, in a minimum of five counties, is sufficient to bring a new party into existence, with the additional requirement that the petition must be verified by the affidavit of ten qualified electors of the state. The recognized party is then entitled to a place on the official ballot at the subsequent primary election, and the succeeding general election. Similar provisions in respect to the organization of local or city political groups are provided in the state laws.

Political party machinery in Arizona is in accordance with the usual hierarchical arrangement, ranging from the precinct "unit cell," through the city and county organization, to the state organization at the apex. However, certain rather unique features are apparent. At the broad base of the pyramidal organization is the precinct machinery, which consists of at least one committeeman, with an additional one for each seventy-five votes or major fraction thereof when the party polls more than seventy-five votes in a particular precinct for its nominee for governor at the last preceding election. The party electors make their choice of precinct party officers at the primary election.

The party's county committee is comprised of the total number of county precinct committeemen. The chairman of the county committee is an ex-officio member of the party state committee.

City party committees may be organized by means of the party electors, by city precincts, electing committeemen who constitute such organization. They are elected at the regular primary election.

The state committee of each party consists, in addition to the various county chairmen, of one member of the county

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committee for each two hundred votes, or major fraction thereof, cast for its nominee for governor at the last preceding general election. The designation of such county committeemen to membership in the state committee is made by the county committee from its own elected membership. The first meeting date of a newly constituted state committee is designated as the last Monday in the month of the state primary election. This meeting must be held at the state capital and is the occasion for effecting the organization of the committee. In addition to a chairman, secretary, and treasurer elected from its own membership, the state committee has an executive committee. The executive committee consists of one member of the state committee from each county, and one additional member from each county for each one thousand votes, or major fraction thereof, cast for the party's candidate for governor in the last preceding general election. Each county's delegation on the state committee selects its quota for the executive committee. The chairman of the state committee is the ex-officio chairman of the executive committee.

Superior to the state committee, in regard to the formulation of the party's state platform, is the state party council, for which provision is made by state law. The state party council is constituted of certain party candidates and representative membership from the regular party organization. Among the duties of the party council, which serves for a two-year term, are the formulation of a state party platform and the calling of special meetings for the transaction of business relative to the policies of the party.

METHODS OF NOMINATION IN ARIZONA

Arizona entered upon statehood in 1912 with a constitutional mandate to the state legislature for the enactment of a direct primary law for the nomination of all elective officers, national, state, and local. Delegate conventions are authorized as a method of nominating elective candidates in instances of special elections to fill vacancies in office if the secretary of state and the attorney general adjudge the time

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too short in which to hold a primary election, or the cost of holding such primary excessive.

The law authorizes nominations by the party committee (state, county, or city, as the case may be) in instances when, after the primary election, vacancies occur on the list of candidates of the party entitled to representation on the official ballot in an ensuing election.

Nomination by petition is also authorized as a supplement to the primary and as an alternative to nomination by the party committee. The signers must declare that they have not assisted in the nomination, by participation in the primary, of another candidate for the same office.

Party organization is quite effective as a factor in the Arizona political arena. Candidates and prospective candidates realize the importance of the role of the machine and seek its support as a rule. Occasionally it is possible for a candidate who is a neophyte and unknown to and unaided by the machine to win the nomination for higher office. A notable example of this kind occurred in 1936, when Professor John R. Murdock, an educator at one of the state's higher institutions of learning, won the Democratic nomination for United States representative at the primary election. He was one of a field of eleven candidates. In a close race, in which he was not given a chance by the forecasters, he won the nomination without the machine's aid over those to whom the machine gave somewhat divided support.

Machine organization and influence with voters, together with the campaign chest and other campaign facilities, are forces with which any outside candidate must reckon. Due to certain factionalism based on economic motives (probably more than on leaders), the party organization often is unable to present a united front. Frequently a more important factor than the machine favor is the attitude of the mines, the railways, the agriculturalists, or labor toward a particular candidate. However, the political vehicle of significance in winning an election is predominantly the Democratic party, rather than the Republican

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party. This has been the situation, with but a few exceptions, during the years of Arizona statehood.

PARTY FUNDS

The principal sources of the political funds in Arizona are the time honored ones tapped elsewhere: (1) from various office holders who are members of the party, "voluntary" contributions are required, which frequently amount in reality to party assessments; (2) from candidates for office; (3) from loyal party members and personal friends of the candidate; and (4) from business interests, corporations, and individuals who desire to be on good terms with the party organization.

The practice in regard to political assessment of office holders seems to be that heavy demands are made during the five or six months prior to a campaign and election. It is not unusual for the assessment to amount to as much as 5 per cent, or more, dependent on the intensity and cost of campaigning. Governor Hunt told the Reed Congressional Committee, in 1926, that candidates for office were assessed 5 per cent of the salary of the office, with the understanding that another 5 per cent would be forthcoming if necessary.³⁵ A very large share of the party funds comes from contributions by business interests, both corporations and individuals. Tens of thousands of dollars may be accounted for from this source. These contributions are especially subjected to considerable rather mild criticism by people who understand. A few persons are more volatile in charging that such contributions are made for the purpose of influencing the policies of the state and local government agencies in the interest of the contributors.

In the main, the Republican party, rarely successful in filling public office at state and local elections, can scarcely expect to make effective appeal to some of the more potent sources of funds. However, the party has kept its organization rather well developed, and federal patronage during national Republican administrations furnishes a source of

35. Reed Committee, 1927, 69th Congress, 1st Session, *Hearings*, p. 2409.

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party funds. Certain individuals of means, as well as others, also make voluntary contributions. While complete Republican slates are usually not in evidence, those candidates who make the race are expected, by themselves and/or with the aid of friends, to furnish contributions to the party.

The legislature in response to a constitutional mandate to provide "purity of elections" early enacted rather detailed corrupt practices legislation. This legislation extends to primary, special, and general elections. Its essential features consist of provisions for publicity of gifts and expenditures, limitations on amounts permitted, prohibition of contributions from corporations, and punishment, as a misdemeanor, of violations.

Many of the essentials of effective legislation of this kind seem provided. But the test is that of result. It is apparent that the result is far from the goal. Since so much depends upon the proper enforcement of the rules, laxity has led to "observance in the breach." Rarely, does the public display any interest in tightening up the observance of this legislation. It seems easier merely to nod to the law and permit affairs to take their course.

THE INITIATIVE AND REFERENDUM

Under the constitution of Arizona, the people reserve the rights of the initiative and referendum as they apply to policy determination, both in respect to constitutional provisions and ordinary statute law. Not only may the voters use the initiative and referendum in respect to state policy determination, but also in regard to local policy formulation in the county and town or city.

The power of the initiative extends to both constitutional and statutory provisions in the state area; and to ordinances, rules, and charters in those local areas of government in respect to matters in which incorporated towns, cities, and counties are empowered to legislate.

The referendum is a second (and essential) step in law-making or in constitution-amending by the process of initiative and referendum. Moreover, the referendum has signifi-

cance of its own account, being used in processes having no connection with the initiative. In this respect, the legislature may of its own accord submit any act or part of an act, enacted by itself, to a referendum of the voters. Also any amendment to the constitutional convention is automatically submitted to referendum of the voters. In all cases of referendum vote, a majority of the electorate voting on the measure is sufficient for its enactment.

Certain exceptions must, of necessity, be noted with respect to the possible use of the referendum on enactments of the legislature. Emergency measures, those immediately necessary for the preservation of public health, peace, and safety, or for the support and maintenance of departments of government or state institutions, are specifically exempted by the constitution. However, it is necessary that the legislature indicate that any of its enactments are emergency in nature by passing it by a two-thirds vote of both houses; the governor's signature is also necessary, unless the legislature repasses it by a three-fourths vote. Emergency measures thus passed are effective immediately. Otherwise, measures are not effective for a period of ninety days, during which time the referendum may be invoked, still further postponing it until after favorable result of the referendum election.

Laws placed on the statute books by exercise of the initiative and referendum may be changed only by the same method or by the agencies which may exercise the constitution-making power. Such acts are not subject to the governor's veto power, as the constitution originally provided. The sixth amendment, adopted in 1914, prohibits the legislature from repealing or amending such measures.

A survey of the use of the initiative and referendum by voters and groups in the state indicates some interesting facts. In the first place, the devices received greatest use during the first six years of statehood; since 1918 their use had gradually, though unevenly, declined. There has been a decline also in the percentage of voters who take the trouble to vote on such measures when they appear on the ballot.

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Various interests and groups in the state have made use of these devices in order to secure the adoption of measures opposed by the legislature, to defeat certain legislative enactments, and to defeat certain proposed constitutional amendments.

When one considers the period beginning with 1912 and ending with 1930, it is found the voters of the state have been asked to pass on a total of 105 measures, both statutory and constitutional. In twenty-two instances, constitutional amendments, and in thirty-two instances, statutes were proposed by initiative petition and referred to the voters. In twenty-one instances, enactments of the legislature were referred by circulation of the petition, and in five instances the legislature itself referred its measures to the electorate. The legislature referred twenty-five proposed constitutional amendments to the voters. Of the twenty-two initiated constitutional amendments, seven were approved; nine of the thirty-two initiated statutory measures, and twelve of the legislative enactments that were referred by petition were approved.

Some investigation of the use of these direct instrumentalities by certain of the state's economic interest groups provides some interesting observations. Organized labor made extraordinary use of the device for initiating ordinary enactments in 1914 and 1916. In the former year, seven such measures appeared in the referendum ballot and six were approved. Somewhat fewer measures were sponsored by labor in 1916, but all were rejected at the polls. No further use of the initiative has been made by labor since 1916. Railway and mining groups have limited their activities to the use of the referendum and were unsuccessful in securing defeat of the eight measures so attacked.³⁶

The passage of time has tended to bring disillusionment to many of those who so strongly espoused the adoption of the direct devices. While they potentially may be used effectively against the shortcomings of indirect instrumentalities,

36. Todd, Charles Foster, "The Initiative and Referendum in Arizona," *A. M. Thesis at University of Arizona* (MS in Univ. of Ariz. Library).

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there is no guarantee that they will be thus used. Direct methods can apparently be short circuited by those who fear their effective use, while those who may profit by direct methods are willing merely to take them for granted.

PARTY FACTIONALISM

The partisan situation in Arizona is one that promotes factionalism within the dominant party. Since the principal political vehicle is the Democratic party, various leaders and economic interests tend to develop cliques within its ranks. Basically, it appears that important factions arise because of the influence of the varied economic organizations of the state. Especially when a tried leader passes from the political scene does a mad scramble ensue as new leaders come forward to claim the toga. Certain interest organizations, or pressure groups as they are sometimes designated, assume vital importance in the state's political affairs. Among these, now as in earlier days, are the big corporations and their organizations, agricultural groups and their organizations, the veterans' organizations, the state educational association, the Arizona Utilities Association, various professional groups and their organizations, labor organizations, organizations of state and local public employees, and others. While the most potent groups politically may number approximately a dozen, there are something over one hundred state-wide interest groups with officer-organization.

POLITICAL PERSONALITIES

Arizona's two United States senators are Henry Fountain Ashurst and Carl Hayden; the former was born in Nevada but came with his parents to Arizona territory at a tender age, the latter is a native Arizonan and the son of one of Arizona's illustrious early pioneers. Senator Ashurst has represented Arizona in the United States Senate since statehood in 1912. Competent, astute, and experienced, Senator Ashurst is influential both in his state and in Washington. During the Roosevelt administrations he has been a key figure in the New Deal program, serving as chairman

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of the powerful Senate Judiciary Committee. Mr. Ashurst has characterized his position of senator as follows:

You send me to Washington to represent you in the senate. But you do not send me there because you are interested in grave questions of national or international policy. When I come back to Arizona, you never ask me any questions about such policies; instead you ask me: "What about my pension?" or "What about that job for my son?"

I am not in Washington as a statesman. I am there as a very well paid messenger boy doing your errands. My chief occupation is going around with a forked stick picking up little fragments of patronage for my constituents."

Senator Hayden's experiences in public office are somewhat more varied. Prior to his going to Washington to represent Arizona, he spent a number of years in Maricopa county offices, serving respectively as treasurer and sheriff. He was elected to the sixty-second Congress in 1914, and to all succeeding congresses through the sixty-ninth. The state elected him to the United States Senate in 1926; and he was reëlected in 1932, and again in 1938. Mr. Hayden, in a manner somewhat less colorful than that of Mr. Ashurst, has shown himself very effective both in filling his present position and in retaining it. In the Roosevelt administrations Hayden is high in the councils of the majority party and that of President Roosevelt.

Both senators are capable campaigners; Senator Ashurst is particularly at ease on the campaign platform, and is noted both at home and in Washington for extraordinary ability as an orator. Each understands his duties, as presented by Mr. Ashurst in his frank exposition; and both senators can specifically indicate appreciable returns of the nature described.

Arizona's lone congressman is John R. Murdock, a former professor of history. A neophyte in politics, Murdock in the 1936 primary won the Democratic nomination in a field of eleven candidates. Scarcely conceded a chance

by the experts, Murdock's nucleus of former student votes (former students at Arizona State Teachers College at Tempe over a period of approximately twenty-two years), and the division of the votes among ten other candidates were doubtless essential factors in his victory at the primary. He received the usual party vote in the general election. Murdock's real test came when he sought reëlection in 1938. That he is an apt pupil of practical politics was amply demonstrated in his victorious campaign for reëlection against a single opponent, an experienced lawyer of Phoenix. Possessed of a flair for writing and speaking, and quick to learn from his experienced contemporaries representing his state in the Senate, Mr. Murdock is becoming widely accepted as a political leader.

Robert T. (Bob) Jones is Arizona's present governor. Born in Tennessee, he came to the state over twenty-five years ago. Originally an engineer by profession, he subsequently entered the retail drug business in Arizona, and has followed this business since 1913. His public career, prior to his election to the governorship in 1938, consisted of two terms in the upper house of the Arizona legislature. As governor he has demonstrated effective powers of leadership in his relations with the legislature, but the usual heavy turnover of state office holders in agencies subject to appointment has continued. Evidences of dissatisfaction with the administration have been voiced by certain interest groups, especially by some organizations of labor. Intentions to circulate a recall petition against the governor have been publicly announced by certain of these groups, but have proved abortive. Of course, it is too soon to ascertain with much certainty whether Governor Jones can continue in his present role as governor and party leader in the state.

Arizona has three living ex-governors, Thomas E. Campbell, a mining engineer; John C. Phillips, an attorney; and R. C. Stanford, also an attorney. The first two have the distinction of being the only successful Republican candidates for that office. Campbell has enjoyed a long and

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colorful public career as a member of the Republican party, and still remains a political figure of importance.

Other personalities, who fill important roles in the political and public life of the state, are: Wirt G. Bowman of Nogales, national Democratic committeeman; and Mrs. Wilma D. Hoyal of Douglas, national Republican committee woman. Bowman, banker and hotel business man of Nogales, came to Arizona in 1898, from Mississippi. His experiences consist of a combination of railroading, export business, banking, hotel business and public life. A man of wealth, Mr. Bowman exerts much influence in political activities. Mrs. Hoyal is an officer in a jewelry firm of Douglas. Other of her activities include her work in the woman's auxiliary of the American Legion of which she was state president in 1923, national vice-president in 1920-21, and national president in 1930-31.

Arizona's leading political personalities can thus be numbered among individuals of both sexes. Some of the older ones have gradually relinquished their hold because of age or death. One great political character who has passed off the scene is the late George W. P. Hunt. Before the dawn of the present century, he came to Arizona territory, virtually astride a burro. After a career in Globe as miner, merchant, and banker, he entered Arizona public life as territorial legislator, and president of the Arizona constitutional convention; then in 1912, he was selected as the state's first governor, to which office he was re-elected six times. His career has become almost legendary. His ability to capture the favor of the common people, to deal effectively with the powers, and to present a constructive program for the young state's development was of a kind that has led to his characterization as the master political leader of his day.

SUFFRAGE HABITS OF THE PEOPLE

The traditional habit of a majority of Arizona's people is to vote the Democratic ticket for national, state, and county officials. Significantly, it is not at all unusual for about 40 per cent of the state's potential voters to neglect the

electoral privilege altogether, even in presidential election years. Of the 122,000 who voted for presidential candidates in 1936, 86,722 cast their ballots for the Democratic candidate, 33,433 for the Republican candidate, while the remainder divided their ballots between the Socialist and Communist candidates. A somewhat larger proportionate number voted for the Republican candidate in 1932, though the state was carried by the Democrats by a more than two to one vote.

If one views the voting habits of the Arizona electorate since statehood (February, 1912), in respect to the election of governor and president, it is found that more Republican presidential candidates have received a majority vote than have Republican gubernatorial candidates. Three times out of seven (1912-1936), Arizona's electoral vote has gone to help elect Republican presidents. These years were 1920, 1924, and 1928. On the other occasions, Arizona's three electoral votes have counted in the Democratic column. Since Arizona elects a governor every two years, fourteen such elections have been held since statehood. On but two occasions, 1918 and 1928, has the electorate selected the Republican candidate. On seven of the remaining twelve occasions, when Democratic gubernatorial candidates were successful, the electorate selected as its chief executive the late George W. P. Hunt, who had been territorial legislator, member, and president of the state constitutional convention in 1910.

It is a tenable explanation that Arizona voters, for reasons peculiar to their local environment, have tended to prefer the program of the Democratic party. The Republican party, as a rule seldom in the ascendancy, has faced threatened disintegration due to an almost total lack of patronage with which to reward workers and leaders. Business interests, which find it to their advantage to espouse the Republican party in other states, find, upon their establishment in Arizona, the Democratic party the better political vehicle. While new voters migrate into the state from both Republican and Democratic environment, a majority have

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continued to arrive from the more southerly states. Many from Republican environment apparently have been opportunists and have not hesitated to become Democratic electors, if they voted at all. The majority of those coming of age within the state do not hesitate to accept their political alignment by inheritance from the family's Democratic practice.

Another factor of importance is the apparent success of Democratic leaders in the capture of a majority of the Spanish-American leaders and their followers. Each of the fourteen counties has an appreciable number of these people, ranging from about 10 per cent of the total population in Apache and Graham counties to as high as about 52 per cent in Santa Cruz county.

The unemployment relief factor has been an important one in state political life since about October 1, 1932, and continues to exert its influence. Employment in the state reached a low point in the late months of 1932 and the early months of 1933. Employment in the copper mines fell to 3,300 men during 1933, in comparison with 16,000 men in 1929. Seasonal agricultural employment was low, as indicated by the small total of 69,000 bales of cotton ginned for the season of 1932, in contrast with 115,000 bales ginned the previous season, and 152,000 bales ginned in 1929. Regularly employed farm labor was reduced to a low minimum. Unemployment in trade, transportation, and manufacturing resulted from depressed conditions of agriculture and mining. Local private charity organizations and local government units were unable to meet the problem of relief for the unemployed, and it was necessary for the federal government to send in relief funds.

The conditions in the winter of 1932-33 forced hundreds of men and women to request public relief with the result that county supervisors, city welfare officers, and workers in other institutions were swamped with applications for relief. Some six thousand persons in the state's fourteen counties were granted assistance in October, 1932; by the end of December, 1932, some 55,700 persons had received public

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assistance amounting to \$352,000. The number of needy increased from month to month and additional sums were made available for their relief. By the end of June, 1933, the Reconstruction Finance Corporation had extended aid in the amount of \$1,461,582, of which \$263,860 went for direct relief and the remainder for work relief.³⁷

On July 1, 1933, the Arizona State Board of Public Welfare became the Arizona Emergency Relief Administration and took over the function of administering federal relief funds in the state. During its first month of operation, this agency granted relief to 29,000 families and single persons, representing a population of 100,000 persons. It is estimated that unemployment relief in Arizona cost more than \$3,000,000 during 1933, with \$1,109,000 obtained from the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, \$1,840,000 from the Federal Emergency Relief Administration, and \$90,000 from city and county governments.³⁸ More than \$12,500,000 were expended for unemployment relief, directly and as work relief, during 1934. Of this amount, \$1,200,000 came from Arizona state and local funds; the remainder came from federal funds.³⁹

As employment in agriculture, mining, and other industries made significant gains during 1935, the relief rolls were definitely reduced. Total relief expenditures for the year amounted to \$9,300,000, of which \$8,400,000 were supplied by the federal government. Continued upturn in employment in the mines, on farms, in transportation, and trade were apparent throughout the most of the state during 1936. Approximately \$7,754,000 were expended for relief during the year, with appreciable reduction in the number of persons on relief rolls being achieved by the end of the year. During two and one-half years, from July 1, 1934, to December 31, 1936, the number of families and single persons

37. Tetreau, E. D., "Unemployment Relief in Arizona from October 1, 1932, Through December 31, 1936, With a Special Analysis of Rural and Town Relief Householders," *Bull. No. 156*, Univ. of Ariz. Col. of Agr., July, 1937.

38. See table 1, Tetreau, *op. cit.*, p. 72.

39. *Ibid.*, tables 1 and 8, pp. 72-76.

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receiving relief was reduced from over 28,000 to 14,200.⁴⁰ The relief load consisted of 45,000 persons on December 31, 1936, in comparison with more than 100,000, or about 23 per cent of the state's population, on the first of July, 1934. In terms of total costs, unemployment relief during the period of October 1, 1932, to December 31, 1936, cost more than \$37,000,000. Somewhat less than 7 per cent of the grand total was supplied by the state of Arizona and its counties and cities; the remaining 93 per cent was supplied by the federal government.

CONCLUSIONS

A survey and analysis of vital factors in the politics of Arizona reveal no particularly optimistic nor pessimistic conditions and trends. Apparently the pattern of political action retains the basic design which developed in territorial days; details and specifications have, of course, shifted and changed. Powerful economic forces were motivated to influence political life through the peculiar means at their disposal under the arrangements of a territorial government. When statehood brought more self-government to the inhabitants, various new political devices were adopted, and many of them were heralded as the means of changing the political pattern. During the earlier days of statehood, the democratic processes were responsible for many earnest exercises of such direct devices as the initiative and referendum. Gradually they have come to be used less earnestly and effectively.

One may seriously doubt that educational efforts, as ordinarily expended, are especially designed to transform the uninformed into realists in the political and governmental sense. Even when one considers those who persist in their efforts to obtain education, only a relatively small percentage seek training in realistic government and politics. Considering those who condition themselves by organized studies and analyses of these phenomena, only a few brief weeks or months of formal education are ordinarily utilized.

40. *Ibid.*, p. 82.

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Subsequently, many of these, on entering upon the duties of citizenship with the reaching of their majority, seem rather overwhelmed by their environment. Dim recollections of admonitions to replace mere emotional responses to politics with more rational and factual considerations of realities apparently are easily superseded by the force of events and may result in cynicism or apathy.

Nevertheless the basic forces continue to exert themselves both for good and for evil. The great corporations, the agricultural organizations, the labor groups, the business and professional groups—these and others—are interested in the various governmental devices, education, radio, and the press as means for effectuating their ideas and philosophies of government and politics. A movement for a change in the Workmen's Compensation Law of 1912 was initiated and pushed primarily by the mine employers. The employees gradually came to favor a modification of that law. By 1925, after several years of effort, an amendment to the constitution and a new law, pertaining to workmen's compensation, were realized. Organized opposition to these changes on the part of personal injury lawyers and private insurance companies proved no insurmountable obstacle.

Other instances of the influence of the interest groups are notable. Agricultural groups and home owners have succeeded during depression years in securing a mortgage moratorium law; bankers, other business groups, and the teachers' organization were effective recently in securing the defeat of a proposed "tax free homes" amendment to the constitution, which was sponsored by some real estate groups and certain home owners. Mining interests, bankers, merchants, and home owners, among others, have successfully sponsored new tax schemes such as the sales tax and the luxury tax as means of new revenue and to relieve real property from some of its tax responsibility. It is obvious that the groups engaged in the extraction of minerals and other resources from the land have thus far successfully resisted attempts to enact a severance tax; even in time of heavy financial needs, wealthy interests have

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succeeded in paring the state inheritance tax law down to a shadow of its former self. Many other instances of the role of interest groups in the government of the state are within possibility of citation.

Occasionally a single great political leader has stood out as a man who was able to present a constructive program attractive to various groups within the state and, at the same time, could speak the language of the greatest group of the electorate. The late George W. P. Hunt, for example, was such a leader, and he was awarded the state's gubernatorial office on seven occasions. Here apparently is the crux of the situation in Arizona politics, or that of any other state, that is, the government and politics will continue to respond to underlying geographical, economic and social phenomena and realities.

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